

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## Thousands protest nuclear danger Cops jail 1,400 in sit-in at Seabrook reactor site

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Intercontinental Press/Fred Murphy

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Unionists buy 'Militant'  
to read what  
'Steel Labor' won't print

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### SOUTH AFRICA

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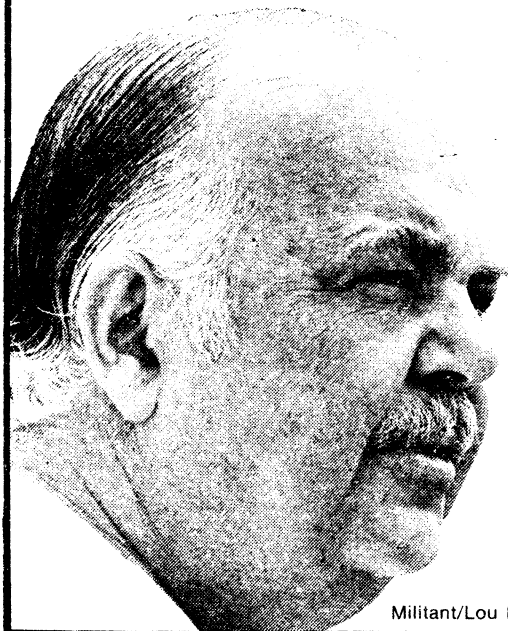
Student  
demonstrations  
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Militant/Lou Howort

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## THE MILITANT

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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Managing Editor: NELSON BLACKSTOCK  
Business Manager: HARVEY McARTHUR  
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING  
Washington Bureau: DAVID FRANKEL

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**DROWNING IN THE SECRETARIAL POOL:** Several hundred clerical workers marked National Office Workers Day in New York with a noon rally April 27. National Secretaries Week was first proclaimed in 1952. According to the *Washington Post*, it was an occasion for secretaries to let the "business world know how proud they are of their profession, and the diversified opportunities it has given them for exciting, stimulating and challenging careers."

The militant New York crowd, however, protested sex discrimination and told bosses to quit treating secretaries like personal maids. The event, organized by Women Office Workers, included a contest on "ridiculous personal errands." One entry said she was expected to fill in the tough words in her boss's unfinished crossword puzzles.

**N.J. CHALLENGE TO ABORTION RIGHTS:** New Jersey Superior Court Justice Robert Clifford ordered a nineteen-year-old unmarried woman not to have an abortion April 21. The woman, Wendy Chasalow, had the abortion anyway, because Clifford's order did not reach her in time.

The ruling upheld a request to block the operation by John Rothenberger, the man who impregnated Chasalow. Earlier, Rothenberger's efforts to deny Chasalow's right to control her own body had been rejected by two lower courts. Rothenberger had argued that his rights as a father, as well as the rights of the six-week-old fetus, were being violated by Chasalow's decision. But the lower court judges disagreed. They said that the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that women have an absolute right to an abortion during the first twelve weeks of pregnancy.

A spokesperson for Rothenberger says he is now considering whether to seek contempt of court charges against Chasalow.

**OPPOSE SUPREME COURT ANTIGAY RULING:** On March 29, 1976, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld Virginia's sodomy laws, thereby approving the right of individual states to maintain antigay and other sexually repressive legislation. The May 21 Gay Action Coalition has set Saturday, May 21, as a day of protest against the Supreme Court's ruling.

Demonstrators will assemble at noon in front of the Justice Department in Washington, D.C., proceeding from there to the Supreme Court. "Despite what the Supreme Court may say," says coalition spokesperson Joyce Hunter, "gay people will not allow any government, political party, or religious institution to control our sexual behavior or deprive us of our basic human rights."

For more information contact the coalition c/o GAA New Jersey, Post Office Box 1734, Hackensack, New Jersey 07606, or call (202) 363-3881 or (201) 343-6402.

**TEAMSTERS FOR A DEMOCRATIC UNION:** In their latest move to stifle union democracy in Detroit Teamsters Local 299, Teamster officials have launched a red-baiting campaign against Pete Camarata, a spokesperson for Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU). At the April local meeting, the local president demanded to know if Camarata is a socialist. This scare tactic backfired, as member after member got up to say that Camarata's political beliefs were his own business.

In March the officials of Local 299 voted to expel Camarata and Al Ferdnace, another TDU leader, for their role in the April 1976 wildcat strike against the Master Freight Agreement.

These attacks aim to weaken and discredit TDU. In recent months TDU has submitted bylaw amendments that would make all Local 299 offices elective and institute monthly meetings and financial reports.

TDU has mobilized several hundred members for union meetings to demand that the proposed changes be read into the record so they can be voted on in May.

TDU, along with another rank-and-file opposition group called Concerned Members of 299, organized a demonstration of 125 members April 2 to protest the expulsion of Camarata and Ferdnace. TDU also plans to run an opposition slate in the November 1977 local elections.

**RACIST FRAME-UPS:** On April 29 the North Carolina Supreme Court denied a request that the nine **Wilmington Ten** defendants still in jail be released on bail. Three prosecution witnesses have recanted testimony that was key to their conviction. The ten were framed up on conspiracy and shooting charges stemming from racist vigilante attacks on Wilmington's Black community in 1971. A hearing for a new trial based on the recantations is set for May 9 at Burgaw . . . Passaic County Court Judge Bruno Leopizzi turned down a motion to declare Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis indigents. The April 26 ruling means that the two—framed up on murder charges for a second time—will not get free trial transcripts needed for their appeal . . . Gary Tyler was sixteen years old when he was convicted on trumped-up murder charges after a shooting outside a school bus under attack by a racist

mob. In violation of Louisiana state law, Tyler—a juvenile—was sentenced to life imprisonment at Angola penitentiary. His mother, Juanita Tyler, is asking that protest letters be sent urging the U.S. Supreme Court to hear an appeal on this unconstitutional act. Write to the Clerk of Court, U.S. Supreme Court, Washington, D.C., with copies to the Gary Tyler Defense Fund, Post Office Box 52223, New Orleans, Louisiana 70152. Juanita Tyler also says this is the address of the only committee authorized to receive donations for her son's defense.

**SPY SCANDAL AT UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA:** A Penn Committee to End Campus Spying has been established following revelations in the March 7 *Daily Pennsylvanian* that for the past six or seven years the campus security office at the University of Pennsylvania has maintained a forty-member "Student Auxiliary Squad" to spy on student groups.

The student spies were paid out of federal funds allocated for work-study programs. According to the *Daily Pennsylvanian*, at least some campus files were turned over to the FBI.

More than eighty campus organizations and professors have endorsed a committee statement condemning the campus spying.

Among those organizations participating in activities of the Penn Committee to End Campus Spying are the Black Student League, the Revolutionary Student Brigade, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

**L&M STRIKE IN DURHAM, N.C.:** *Militant* correspondent Gary Sage reports that some 1,700 members of Local 176, Tobacco Workers International Union, AFL-CIO, went on strike against the Liggett & Myers Tobacco Corporation April 18. The union is striking to eliminate a fifteen-cent ceiling on the cost-of-living escalator clause in its contract. This is the first strike against L&M in nearly forty years.

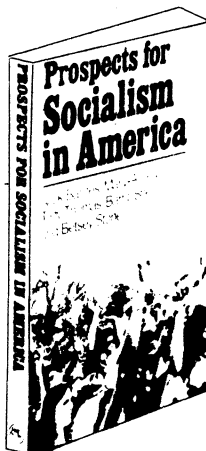
**ON THE COST OF LIVING:** Just to maintain what the government calls an "austere" standard of living, a family of four needs an annual income of \$10,041, the U.S. Labor Department says. Calculated for the fall of 1976, this figure represents an increase of 4.7 percent over the previous year. The department says \$16,236 a year maintains a family of four at a "moderate" standard, a 6.0 percent increase over the previous year.

While pondering the above, consider this: New York's Consolidated Edison Company announced April 26 that its net income of \$95.3 million for the first quarter of 1977 was up 15.2 percent from year-earlier levels. The rise, Con Ed said, "was due to rate increases, increased sales to other utilities, and the effects of the colder-than-normal weather. . . ."

—Peter Seidman

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# Soweto student protests halt rent hikes

From Intercontinental Press

In a successful protest against steep rent increases, thousands of Black high-school students demonstrated in Soweto April 27. The protests were called by the Soweto Students Representative Council (SRC), which initiated many of the mass Black protests that swept South Africa last year.

According to a report in the April 28 *Washington Post*, "At Morris Isaacson high school in Orlando, police estimated that 2,000 students gathered early this morning [April 27]. Many carried angry banners declaring: 'We will not pay,' and 'Away with capitalism.'"

Leaders of the SRC had planned a peaceful march to the white administrative offices in Soweto to protest the rent hike, but police riot vans stopped them. Police also dispersed a crowd that had gathered at a stadium.

The students also tried to hold a protest at the offices of the Urban Bantu Council (UBC), a largely powerless administrative body staffed by Blacks. When a small group of demonstrators tried to enter the building, police fired tear gas to disperse them. Later attempts by the students to regroup were likewise met by police attacks, in which three students were wounded by gunfire.

The police, equipped with newly acquired riot helmets and Plexiglas shields, arrested forty-nine students during the protests.

The actions were sparked by a

government announcement that rents on all homes in Soweto, which are government owned, would be raised by 40 to 80 percent by May 1. The notice of the rent hikes came at a time when Soweto's poverty-ridden population was already facing additional hardships. Unemployment among Blacks throughout the country is estimated at more than one million and is rising by about 15,000 persons a month. Earlier this year, the regime approved sharp increases in the rail fares paid by Soweto's 220,000 commuters. The price

of maize flour, a staple in the diet of most Blacks in South Africa, has also risen.

Although officials of the UBC claimed that they had not approved of the rent hikes, the SRC charged the UBC with complicity in the decision and called on its members to resign. Student leaders said that the UBC was a target of the protests because it "has finally demonstrated that it is acting against the interests of black people. The UBC has consistently been used by the authorities to oppress our own

people."

In face of the student protests, Pretoria agreed April 29 to defer the introduction of the rent hikes while it "studies" the issue. The police also dropped charges against those students who had been arrested.

At the same time, however, the Soweto police chief, Brig. Gen. Jan Visser, warned that future student protests would be met with less "restraint" by the police. "I can give the assurance that we will not act in the same manner that we did," he said.

## Antiapartheid actions May 28, June 16

By Omari Musa

Opponents of white minority rule in southern Africa are planning protest and educational activities over the next four or five weeks.

"June 16 is the first anniversary of the Soweto student rebellion in South Africa," Tony Austin told the *Militant*. Austin is coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

"NSCAR activists will be organizing protest activities that day with as broad a range of groups and individuals as possible to demand an end to U.S. complicity with the racist regimes."

Austin also urged participation in the May 28 African Liberation Day

demonstration in Washington, D.C., called by the All-African Peoples Revolutionary party.

That march will step off at 10:00 a.m. from Malcolm X Memorial Park, march to LaFayette Park (across from the White House), and then return to Malcolm X Park for a rally and cultural events.

Speakers will include AAPRP leader Stokely Carmichael and representatives from several African liberation groups.

A number of leaders in the fight against white minority rule have called for a May 21 leadership meeting in New York to "assess U.S. involvement in Africa."

The initiators of the leadership meeting are: Chelsea-Village NAACP; Lucius Walker, Jr., Inter-religious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO); Courtland Cox, secretary-general of the Sixth Pan-Africanist Congress; Koko Farrow, Commission for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ; and Tony Austin.

For further information on the meeting contact: Adisa Douglas, IFCO, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 572, New York, New York 10027, (212) 870-3151; or Tony Austin c/o NSCAR, 220 Fifth Avenue, Room 808, New York, New York 10001, (212) 686-7020.

## Interview with a winner

# Victory for handicapped: Califano signs 504

By Diane Wang

"It's really kind of incredible that we—who have supposedly been the weak and hidden and frail in our society—have been able to build such a tremendously powerful movement that we forced them to grant us our rights."

Kitty Cone was commenting on Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Joseph Califano's decision to sign regulations implementing civil rights laws for handicapped people.

Cone had recently returned to the West Coast from what she called "an eight-day blitz of activity" in Washington, D.C. As an organizer of the sit-in at the San Francisco HEW offices that began April 5, Cone was part of the West Coast delegation to Washington.

While protesters continued the nearly month-long sit-in in San Francisco, others in Washington dogged Califano's heels, held rallies, carried on a daily picket line outside the White House, and stirred up public support.

On April 28 the handicapped finally won. Califano signed Section 504—regulations that will implement the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 to guarantee civil rights for disabled people.

The public demonstrations had also prevented Califano from watering down Section 504. He had wanted to exempt more buildings from the regulations' accessibility requirements. He had also tried to deny the section's protection to alcoholics and drug addicts.

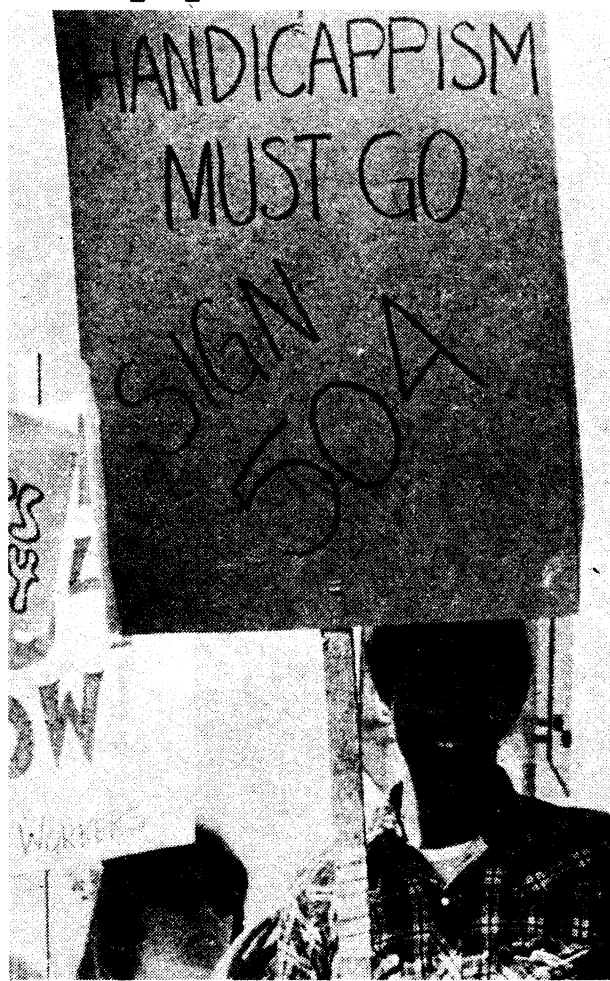
As signed, the regulations will ban discrimination against 35 million disabled people, 10 million alcoholics, and 1.5 million drug addicts.

Thanks to Section 504, schools, colleges, social service centers, hospitals, and clinics must be made accessible to the handicapped, including to people who use wheelchairs.

The regulations end the "separate but equal" approach to education for the handicapped. Cone explained that currently 1 million disabled children receive no education whatsoever. Thousands of other disabled students are segregated into schools where they get an inferior education.

Now schools will have to provide programs and facilities so that disabled children can go to school with other students. Public school programs for the handicapped must be completed by September 1978.

As of June 1, 1977, employers receiving federal funds cannot legally refuse employment to a handicapped person who qualifies for the job. In addition, bosses will have to make the workplace accessible to disabled employees.



San Francisco rally, April 15: demonstrations like this around U.S. put Califano and Carter on the spot.

Cone described the problems that handicapped people face. "For a disabled person to get a job and pay for the kinds of medical bills most of us have," she said, "we have to be twice as qualified as a nondisabled person to get hired in the first place, to overcome the discrimination. Then we have to get really well-paying jobs to take the risk of going off Medicaid."

The government estimates that the new regulations will cost \$2.4 billion a year to implement. But Cone pointed out that a government study had estimated long-range financial advantages from the rules. Millions will go off welfare once they can beat job discrimination. And construction jobs will be created to make the necessary changes in buildings and streets.

"But when you're talking about civil rights legislation, you shouldn't be talking about money," Cone said. "It's not fair to say that this country can afford civil rights for some citizens and not for others."

This victory for the handicapped stands in stark contrast to the setbacks others have suffered in past months: retreats on desegregation and open housing for Blacks; defeats of the Equal Rights Amendment and the right to pregnancy benefits for women; the failure to secure a decent minimum wage for working people.

How did people who seemingly have so little "clout" and political power manage to win?

Cone summed it up: "The most important thing for us was to believe in ourselves, to try to continually involve more people, to get more support, and not to take anything that the government said as the truth."

Many of those participating in the demonstrations had been coordinators or members of Disabled for Carter-Mondale during the 1976 elections, Cone said. They believed Carter last September when he backed strong regulations.

"One of the things that everybody learned," Cone said, "is that you can't rely on the good will of politicians who have made you promises—you've got to fight."

The handicapped also reached out for allies. "We drew the real connections with other civil rights organizations," Cone explained, "like the NAACP and the National Organization for Women. The Black Panther party just knocked itself out and fed us for weeks."

The protesters won support from a wide variety of groups, from gay rights organizations to the Girl Scouts.

Trade-union support included not only endorsements from the AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers, and the local American Federation of Government Employees, but "real, actual, physical support," Cone said.

"The International Association of Machinists became involved in San Francisco and a couple of their officers flew to Washington. They continually helped us, all the way through."

The determination, unity, and solid support won the day for the handicapped.

"We're proud of ourselves," Cone concluded. "We've built a real basis to continue struggling. We have to fight for implementation of these regulations. We feel very, very confident that we are capable of organizing and sticking it out."

# Steel-plant sales top 4,000 in one week

By Harvey McArthur

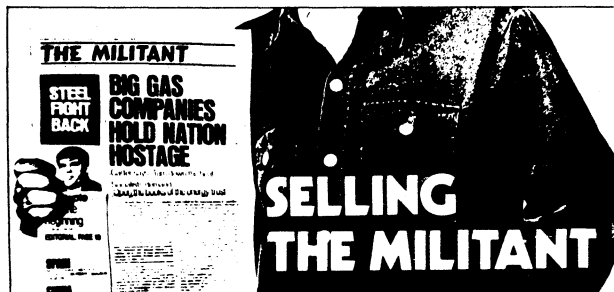
"Is that the thirty-five-cent paper? The *Militant*—that's the one I want—the one with the steel contract."

This reaction from a worker at Republic Steel in Cleveland was typical of many at plants in more than sixty cities last week.

Members of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance sold at plant gates more than 4,276 copies of the April 29 *Militant*, which reprinted and analyzed the new contract in basic steel.

It was by far the highest plant-gate sale of the *Militant* spring circulation drive, and a giant step toward establishing and regularizing industrial workplace sales—the central goal of the drive.

Thirty-nine out of forty cities listed on the



BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA: Team of socialists from Atlanta sold 356 'Militants' at steel plants and 251 on campuses and streets.

scoreboard sold at steel plants. Many also sent special teams to big mills in other cities, including Lorain, Ohio; Buffalo, New York; Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; Pueblo, Colorado; and Corpus Christi, Texas.

Steel sales boosted the week's overall total to 9,347—the second highest week of the campaign.

Eighteen out of forty cities made their individual goals. Atlanta, St. Paul, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, New Orleans, and Minneapolis had their best sales yet this spring.

*Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language socialist magazine, translated and printed the contract summary so that Chicano, Puerto Rican, Mexican, and other Spanish-speaking steelworkers could read it in their own language. Good *Perspectiva* sales were reported in Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Denver, and the San Francisco Bay Area.

Houston socialists sold more than forty copies of *Perspectiva*, including twenty-five to Chicano and Mexican workers at Texas Electric Steel.

Rich Ariza, Socialist Workers party candidate for governor of New Jersey, sold more than thirty copies of *Perspectiva* to Puerto Rican workers at plants around Newark.

Highest steel sales of the week were reported by Los Angeles, which sold 598 *Militants* at plants. More than half were sold at the Kaiser Steel works in Fontana.

Other big steel sales were 333 in Detroit, 250 in the New York area, 271 in Houston, 213 in Minneapolis, 170 in Cleveland, 138 in Pittsburgh, and 139 in St. Louis.

Chicago socialists mobilized to sell 401 papers at six big plants. Their best sale was 247 at the U.S. Steel works in Gary, Indiana.

"By Wednesday, we could tell that the *Militant* was really being passed around inside the plant," reports Mark Ugolini. "Several workers made a point of coming out to talk with us about the articles in the paper, about conditions in the plant, and how they thought the contract would affect them."

A team from Atlanta sold 607 papers in Birmingham, Alabama—356 at steel plants and 251 at college campuses and on the streets.

"We sold the most at the big plants like the U.S. Steel Fairfield Works," said Al Budka. "But we also found a good response at smaller fabricating shops. At the American Pipe Company, which is not a union shop, the workers were so glad to see someone with information about the union that they bought fifty papers during one 7:00 a.m. shift change."

Cleveland sent teams to Republic Steel every day. "By the end of the week, we were selling every paper we took to the plant," says Kathleen Fitzgerald.

"Workers would seek us out to get a copy of the paper because they had seen it in the plant. One person, who read a leaflet on our socialist educational conference, read it and came back saying, 'I like this stuff, and I want to buy a copy of your paper and find out more about your party.'"

\* \* \*

Last week's sales of the special steel issue introduced thousands of steelworkers to the *Militant*—and introduced *Militant* salespeople to dozens and dozens of steel plants where they had never sold before.

The big job now is to turn this initial success into regular sales of hundreds of copies at steel plants

every week.

One help in doing this is the four-page reprint of the steel contract and the *Militant's* commentary. (See ad on facing page.) Many steelworkers still have not seen this contract summary—and they're not likely to read it anywhere else. Plant-gate teams can continue to sell the *Militant* on the basis of this unique and attractive feature—giving a copy free with each *Militant*.

All previous experience shows that sales grow steadily when teams return to the same spot at the same time each week. In this way salespeople will get to know a number of steelworkers as regular *Militant* buyers. Many of them will want to buy subscriptions to the *Militant* or find out about other activities of the Socialist Workers party.

## NOW conference

"The response from the women here was fantastic," reported Nancy Fields from the recent conference of the National Organization for Women, held in Detroit April 21-24. "Five hundred sixty women bought copies of the *Militant* and 116 also bought subscriptions."

Why did more than a quarter of the women at the conference think it was important to read the *Militant*? Lorie Satre from the Youngstown NOW chapter summed up the feelings of many women.

"Our chapter leaders feel that you get more information from the *Militant* than you do from *Do It Now* [the NOW national paper]. It is consistent. The *Militant* just doesn't stop. It is more complete. It is really good."

## Big effort set for second 'Militant' target week

The *Militant* has set the week of May 14-20 as a second national sales target week. We plan to sell well over the 10,000 weekly goal.

During the first target week, April 2-9, we more than doubled earlier weekly sales, selling more than 17,000 *Militants*. Most of these were sold in shopping centers, on street corners, and door to door in Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities.

The week of May 14-20, Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance chapters will again plan extra sales teams to these locations. They will also follow up on last week's record steel sales with teams to many plant gates. Teams will sell *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language biweekly magazine, along with the *Militant*.

"We're setting up May 14-20 committees throughout the city, just like we did for the target week in April," says Roger Rudenstein from the New York SWP.

"We'll have a full day of campaigning and sales on Saturday. Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for mayor, and hundreds of campaigners will set up literature tables, hold street rallies, and sell the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* all day.

"We plan to put aside as many of our other activities as possible that week so we can concentrate on sales every day.

"Workplace sales will be a top priority. We sold

250 papers at steel plants last week, and we think we can sell even more at workplaces during the target week.

"We'll be going to the garment district, to hospitals, and to steel and other plants in and around New York City."

In New York, like many other cities, SWP branches will order larger bundles of the *Militant* and raise their sales goals for the week. Individual members of the SWP and YSA will take on high personal goals to help boost their branches' sales.

"St. Paul and Minneapolis socialists will go back to towns in the Mesabi Iron Range in northern Minnesota," reports Ilona Gersh from Minneapolis.

"It takes extra effort, but it's worth it to meet so many people interested in the *Militant*. We sold more than 300 papers there last week, and already we have received subscription requests from people in Duluth and Keewatin.

"With good sales in the Iron Range and a lot of extra sales in Minneapolis, I'm sure we'll go well over our goal."

—H.M.

## Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold	%	Indianapolis	135	139	102.9	Oakland, Calif.	250	159	63.6
Atlanta	400	879	219.7	Seattle	215	217	100.9	New York City	1,100	697	63.3
Miami	75	111	148.0	San Antonio	125	125	100.0	San Diego	200	125	62.5
St. Paul	80	112	140.0	Chicago	650	600	92.3	Philadelphia	400	244	61.0
Cleveland	180	240	133.3	Denver	200	182	91.0	Washington, D.C., Area	400	237	59.2
Pittsburgh	175	231	132.0	Louisville	100	91	91.0	Albany, N.Y.	75	43	57.3
New Orleans	200	262	131.0	Baltimore	150	136	90.6	Boston	520	294	56.5
Los Angeles	650	848	130.4	St. Louis	300	271	90.3	Richmond, Va.	75	39	52.0
Phoenix	125	144	115.2	San Jose	200	176	88.0	Milwaukee	200	97	48.5
Raleigh, N.C.	40	45	112.5	Cincinnati	125	106	84.8	Total			
Toledo	75	84	112.0	Houston	400	327	81.7	April 29 issue	10,000	9,347	93.5
Dallas	140	156	111.4	Berkeley, Calif.	250	172	68.8	Young Socialist teams			
Salt Lake City	100	109	109.0	San Francisco	550	377	68.5	South	90	190	211.1
Tacoma, Wash.	70	75	107.1	Portland, Ore.	200	136	68.0	North California	90	80	88.9
Minneapolis	300	320	106.6	Detroit	625	421	67.3	Total	180	270	150.0
Newark	225	240	106.6	Kansas City, Mo.	120	80	66.6	Combined total			9,617



# 'Explaining' the contract

## 'Steel Labor' prints only the news that fits

By Andy Rose

The April issue of *Steel Labor*, official newspaper of the United Steelworkers of America, and the April 29 issue of the *Militant* have two things in common.

They were published at about the same time, and they both deal with the basic steel contract approved April 9. There the resemblance ends.

The *Militant* printed the official contract summary that was voted on by local union presidents. (Rank-and-file members don't have a vote.)

*Steel Labor* printed "a report . . . by members of the union's Negotiating Committee Technical Staff most familiar with the bargaining details."

These staff members don't seem to be familiar, however, with many "details" pointed out by the *Militant*. Or maybe there are some details they just don't want the membership to be familiar with.

Here's a few examples of what you read in the *Militant* that *Steel Labor* didn't think was fit to print:

- All medical insurance benefits are cut off for new employees until they pass probation.

- When a worker dies, their spouse can no longer collect vacation pay the worker has accumulated—a small but cruel cut in benefits.

- Life insurance coverage is reduced for employees retiring at age sixty-two.

These items are simply left out of *Steel Labor*. A much longer list could be compiled of bargaining demands approved by USWA conventions or by the union's Wage Policy Committee but not found in the contract.

The point is not that the union could necessarily have won every demand this year. The point is that the members have the right to a full and honest accounting—not a whitewash job on a contract tailored to suit the profit needs of the corporations.

*Steel Labor* claims "major breakthroughs" were made in job security, wage-rate retention for disabled employees, and contracting out of work to outside—often nonunion—employers.

*Steel Labor* does report that the additional "job security" benefits are only available to workers with twenty or more years on the job.

It doesn't report that you lose these benefits if the company offers you a "suitable" job at any location in the country and you don't take it.

It doesn't report that the much-ballyhooed \$300-a-month pension supplement (for workers who retire early due to disability, plant shutdown, or long-term layoff) is paid only until the worker becomes eligible for Social Security.

On contracting out, *Steel Labor* fails to report that all local agreements that can require management to retrieve work in progress from contractors are invalidated. In their place is a weak "forty-hour guarantee" that covers only as many USWA members as there are outside craft employees in the plant.

Wage-rate retention for disabled employees who transfer to another job is a welcome gain—although eligibility is determined by the company doctor, and rate retention lasts only two years and goes no higher than job class eleven (out of thirty-four).

But *Steel Labor* says nothing about the key demand of workers in coke ovens and other death traps—the right to transfer away from these poisonous jobs with no loss in pay before, not after, they are permanently disabled.

The most startling omission from *Steel Labor* is not any of these, however. It is the paper's failure to report anything about the discussion within the Basic Steel Industry Conference—which first voted to reject the contract, then accepted it by 193 to 99 in a roll-call vote.

What did the local presidents say? What did international President I. W. Abel say? Why did a majority initially oppose the contract? Why did some change their votes?

*Steel Labor* doesn't say. Perhaps it thinks these high-level deliberations are of no interest to the members.

Perhaps it doesn't want the members to see Abel's speech warning that the union could lose everything in the "agonies of arbitration" if the pact were rejected.

After all, Abel justifies the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement in basic steel by arguing just the opposite—that arbitration is a big concession by the companies and guarantees good settlements for the union.

In the recent union election campaign, Ed Sadlowski and Steelworkers Fight Back demanded that the ENA and all contracts be submitted to ratification vote by the membership. The *Steel Labor* "report" on the new contract shows how powerfully this demand hits at the union bureaucracy, which fears even to inform the ranks about negotiations and contract terms.

Oh yes—the union officialdom promises to mail out "a detailed explanation" of the contract soon.

But a quarter-of-a-million votes for Steelworkers Fight Back said loud and clear that it's time to stop "explaining" . . . and start telling the truth.

## Spread the truth...

. . . about the basic steel contract and what it means for all working people, with a four-page reprint from the *Militant*.

Contains the complete text of the official summary of the contract voted on by union presidents, with analysis by the *Militant*. Three cents each, or two cents each on orders of 1,000 or more. Available in English or Spanish.

Order from Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



Union paper prints photo of local presidents speaking on contract . . . but refuses to report what they said.

# Steel notes...

**SADLOWSKI: 'THINGS WILL NEVER BE THE SAME':** Steelworkers Fight Back sponsored a dinner and dance April 29 to honor Ed Sadlowski, candidate for international president in the February 8 union election, and Jim Balanoff, who was elected to succeed Sadlowski as District 31 director. Some 500 steelworkers and their families attended the event in Merrillville, Indiana, reports *Militant* correspondent Michael Gillespie.

Sadlowski thanked the Fight Back supporters for their "time, effort, and energy" on the campaign and said it had made a big impact on the union. "I firmly believe that working people do give a fiddler's damn about what's going on," he said, "and that the rank and file, with a diligent effort, can make things happen. By virtue of the quarter of a million votes cast [for Fight Back] on February 8 you have ensured that things will never be the same."

Sadlowski pledged to continue fighting for a "solid, progressive, aggressive, democratic trade-union movement."

**BALANOFF BLASTS NO-STRIKE PACT:** "The results of the elections are already beginning to show," said Jim Balanoff, president of the huge USWA Local 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, and director-elect of District 31. "It's no accident that people aren't happy with the national contract negotiated by Abel and McBride. It's not an accident that ninety-nine local union presidents had the courage and conviction to stand up and tell Abel that they weren't satisfied with the contract," Balanoff told the gathering.

He blamed the inadequacies of the basic steel contract on the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which prohibits a national steel strike. Balanoff said his priorities as a member of the union's International Executive Board will be to fight for abolition of the ENA, for a "restructuring of the dues to eliminate the present inequities while maintaining the union's strength," and for the right of "all steelworkers to ratify their contracts and have a real input into the union's decisions."

**TEXAS LOCAL VOTES TO LEAVE USWA:** According to reports in the *Houston Post* and *Chronicle*, Local 16000 has voted to leave the United Steelworkers and seek affiliation to the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union. The Abel-McBride machine has been trying to force the local—an opposition stronghold in Texas—out of the USWA. Local President Fabian Greenwell was head of the Sadlowski campaign committee in the Texas district, and the local voted overwhelmingly for the Fight Back slate.

Abel put the local in receivership April 11 on trumped-up charges of misusing strike funds back in 1975. District 37 Director Ed Ball then offered to drop the charges if the local would leave the USWA and affiliate to another AFL-CIO union. The *Houston* papers reported that on April 20-21, a 93 percent majority of the local membership voted in favor of joining OCAW.

The local represents more than 500 workers at Ethyl Chemical Company near Houston. With their contract expiring May 1, the members faced the prospect of the international imposing a new contract that they would have no say over.

The local vote doesn't settle the matter, though. The company is not legally bound to recognize the OCAW as the bargaining agent or to sign an OCAW contract. It is likely that the company—seeing the local under attack from the USWA officialdom—will join in trying to undermine the local's ability to represent the workers at Ethyl.

But what happens to the workers at Ethyl is, of course, the last thing Abel, McBride, and Ball are concerned about.

**STRIKE GETS GRIEVANCES SETTLED:** A two-day strike by 700 workers at Cerro Copper Products near East St. Louis, Illinois, forced the company into negotiations to settle many long-standing grievances, according to *Militant* correspondent David Welters.

Harlin Kelley, vice-president of USWA Local 4294 at Cerro, left his job on April 8 to discuss incorrectly posted job bids. The company refused to discuss this violation of the contract and told Kelley to return to work.

On Monday, April 11, the foundry, tankhouse, and tube mill workers stayed off the job. They refused to go back to work Tuesday in return for a company promise to negotiate grievances when work resumed. The workers decided to return to work Wednesday, however, to comply with a court injunction obtained Tuesday against the walkout.

At an April 17 union meeting, union officials reported that the company had settled grievances involving posting of job bids, snow absentee days, and work performed by supervisors. Other grievances were either dropped by the union or are still being contested.

**ABEL ENLISTS IN ENERGY WAR:** A group called "Americans for Energy Independence" got right in the swing of Carter's energy war—even before he declared it. In a full-page ad in the April 4 *New York Times*, the group says conservation and "energy self-sufficiency" are imperative to preserve "national security." The ad urges you to "take the conservation pledge" and send them fifty dollars.

The ad lists the board of directors of "American for Energy Independence." Number one is none other than I.W. Abel. Abel's co-directors include Otes Bennett, president, North American Coal Company; Arnold Safer, vice-president, Irving Trust Company; and Zalman Shapiro, manager, Fusion Power Systems, Westinghouse Electric Corporation. (Maybe that's why the ad says nothing about profiteering by the energy corporations as the real cause of the so-called energy crisis.)

Abel and his buddies offer a set of "conservation guidelines": Keep your home cold in the winter and hot in the summer. Minimize the use of hot water. Turn off lights. Use car pools and avoid "pleasure driving."

We'd just like to know where Abe sets the air conditioning thermostat in his Sun City, Arizona, retirement villa, and whether he's driving a high-mileage golf cart. . . .

—Andy Rose

## Aboard NOW bus

# N.Y. women speak out

By Ginny Hildebrand

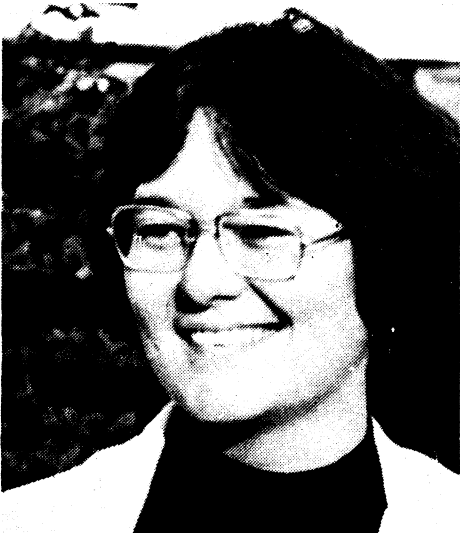
INTERSTATE 80—It was about 5:30 p.m. Sunday, April 24, when members of New York chapters of the National Organization for Women boarded a chartered bus in Detroit.

As we pulled away from Cobo Hall, the site of the NOW national conference, I took a seat next to Sharon Grant and Elen Lauper. Both women were organizers for the March 12 International Women's Day demonstration of 1,000 women in New York City. Lauper joined NOW shortly after the march. Grant, a Black woman, joined when she arrived at the conference.

"I came to the convention to get a feel for what was going on," Grant told me. "And I knew there was a resolution coming up that would show how to involve more minority women in NOW. I wanted to have something good to take back to minority women."

"But, of course, I was really disappointed with the outcome of that resolution."

Conference delegates overwhelmingly defeated the resolution on Women of the Oppressed Nationalities. This proposal, supported by the Minority Women workshop, called for an aggressive campaign of activities to win Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicana women to NOW.



EILEEN FOLEY Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

Discussion time devoted to the resolution during the plenary was taken up with parliamentary jockeying. No one actually spoke against the resolution before it was voted down.

Despite her disappointment, Grant plans to get active in Brooklyn NOW.

### Discussion must continue

"Discussions on the issues raised in our resolution have to take place somewhere," she said. "For every woman at the conference, there are more than ten other women in NOW. I think it's our obligation to go back and discuss these things with them."

I asked Lauper if she thought the plenary discussions were thorough.

"The discussions on the floor didn't even really get started before they were cut down," she responded.



MARGARITA PAGAN at March 12 rally

"The best discussions were in the workshops," Lauper continued. "A lot of constructive things came out for people to take back to their chapters."

Lauper also thought the NOW leadership's National ERA Strike Force resolution, adopted by the delegates, is undemocratic. It authorizes a handful of leaders—not NOW's membership—to devise a strategy to fight for the Equal Rights Amendment.

### The grapevine

Both women felt that NOW leaders and some delegates purposely distorted and smothered political discussion.

"Where resolutions were supported by members of the Socialist Workers party, this was used against the resolutions," Lauper said. "That wasn't done in an open manner where it could have been challenged. It was done through the grapevine. And that system is lethal."

Later in the trip I introduced myself to Pat Palermo. She was sitting next to Eileen Foley, who was the coordinator for the March 12 New York demonstration.

Palermo asked, "Why is it that so many issues were reduced beyond their content to the question of SWP involvement?" The three of us got into a long discussion on this.

### 'Slandorous article'

I asked both women if they'd read the *NOW Times*, a paper distributed at the conference by several Southern California NOW chapters. Its editorial accused the SWP of "manipulating" the women's movement. Both women had seen it.

"It was just a slanderous article," Foley said, "I think organizations tend to feel threatened by any group of people who don't have precisely the same way of doing things as the organization is used to."

SWP members along with nearly 200

other conference participants did urge NOW to do things differently. They backed the Defending Women's Rights in the Second Decade resolution. This called for NOW to stop relying on politicians and turn toward mobilizing women in large, visible protests to win the ERA and defend legal abortion and other rights under attack.

"A few years ago," said Foley, "some NOW members didn't want to include lesbians. At this conference red-baiting was underscored because people were confronted with different views on how NOW should act."

At about 1:30 a.m. I parked myself between Viola Williamson and Margarita Pagan. Williamson is Black, Pagan is Puerto Rican. Both work in a drug rehabilitation program.

I asked Williamson what she liked best about the conference.

"I feel good that there were so many women there who were open and friendly," she said.

### Confusion over resolution

"But," she added, "I think a lot of other women just didn't know what points we [Minority Women workshop] were trying to get across."

Pagan pointed out that the discussion on the Women of the Oppressed Nationalities resolution had barely begun when the question was called and defeated.

As a result, she continued, "we had a lot of women coming over to us and asking us about our resolution. They didn't know what it was all about."

Both women were disturbed by the rumors that Black and Puerto Rican women were trying to divide NOW and planned to break from the organization.

"I was in NOW a long time ago and I came back, and I'm not going to leave again," Williamson said.

"Women feel that we're trying to separate," she continued. "But we don't want to separate. We just want to be heard and bring more women into the organization."

"There are a lot of women who really need NOW and would respond to it if we did things the way the Resolution on Women of the Oppressed Nationalities said."



VIOLA WILLIAMSON Militant/Anne Teesdale

# Abortion workshop supports May 8 actions

By Gale Shangold

DETROIT—"During the 1976 campaign, we didn't respond. The opposition made abortion an issue. We didn't."

"The candidates would get off the plane and the right-to-lifers would be there, but we weren't. . . . We have supported candidates for their stands on nine out of ten issues, and the tenth was abortion. We can't do that anymore."

So said Karen Mulhauser, executive director of the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), during a workshop on the status of legal abortion at the April conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW) here.

Women from around the country—Wisconsin, Missouri, California, Virginia, Georgia—talked about the threats to abortion rights in their states. A delegate from San Francisco said that the California legislature had recently considered six anti-abortion bills.

These state efforts have been encouraged by Congress's approval of the Hyde amendment, which would cut off Medicaid funds for abortion.

Mulhauser urged NOW to become more active in the fight to defend abortion rights. "NOW has the best network," she said. "We have to do something or we can lose abortion."

Dorothy Hawkinson from Washington, D.C., NOW introduced a "Resolution for May 8 Actions Defending Women's Rights to Control Our Bodies."

In March, NARAL called for local actions in defense of abortion rights on Mother's Day, May 8.

Hawkinson's resolution asked the national conference of NOW to "encourage local chapters to join with other groups on May 8 to demand: Stop the attacks on abortion rights! Full rights for pregnant workers! End sterilization abuse!"

Workshop participants passed the resolution unanimously. It did not, however, reach the floor of the conference for discussion.

Actions are taking place in several cities the weekend of May 8. They include:

**Washington, D.C.:** Demonstration and Rally for Motherhood by Choice. Sunday, May 8, 11:30 a.m. President's Park, 15th and E Streets, NW. Sponsored by Committee for Motherhood by Choice.

Endorsers include Catholics for a Free Choice; D.C. NOW Task Force on Abortion Action; Northern Prince Georges County NOW; Women Concerned for Choice, Howard University; Socialist Workers party.

**Denver:** Mother's Day Rally in the Defense of Women's Rights. Saturday, May 7, 1:00 p.m. State Capitol Building. Sponsored by East Metro Denver NOW.

**San Francisco:** Picket Line and Rally for Motherhood by Choice. Friday, May 6, noon. State Building, 350 McAllister. Sponsored by San Francisco NOW and Coalition for the Medical Rights of Women.

# NYC sets sterilization abuse curbs

By Gale Shangold

NEW YORK—On April 28 the New York City Council approved guidelines designed to protect women from sterilization abuse.

Thirty-eight council members voted in favor of Intro 1105; three abstained. The guidelines will cover all health facilities and doctors in New York City.

The bill was endorsed by a wide variety of organizations and individuals. They include Committee to End Sterilization Abuse (CESA), New York National Organization for Women, National Black Feminist Organization, and Brooklyn Council of

Churches.

The new regulations are a victory for Black, Puerto Rican, and poor women—the main victims of sterilization abuse. The regulations require a thirty-day waiting period between the signing of consent papers and the sterilization itself.

In addition, the guidelines state that a woman must be informed in her preferred language as to rights, benefits, risks, and alternatives. Consent may not be obtained during abortion or childbirth. Doctors who violate these rules face one year in jail and/or a \$1,000 fine.

Karen Stamm of CESA told the

Militant, "We won because of tremendous community support from all kinds of organizations."

"The ramifications of this decision are nationwide. Sterilization guidelines are going to be taken up by legislatures and city councils all over the country," she said.

According to Stamm, none of the major media have publicized the city council's decision. CESA plans to get out the word so that women will be informed of their rights.

One of CESA's next projects is to ensure that adequate sterilization guidelines are adopted by the state legislature in Albany.



# Feminists protest red-baiting in movement

By Nancy Cole

Members of the National Organization for Women and other feminists are responding with outrage to the red-baiting motion passed by the Detroit national NOW conference April 24.

The motion was voted up immediately before the conference adjourned; most delegates had already left. The motion stated:

"This conference protests attempts by the Socialist Workers party to use NOW as a vehicle to place before the public the agenda of their organization and to exploit the feminist movement. We bitterly resent and will not tolerate any group's attempts to deflect us from pursuit of our feminist goals."

The Newark NOW chapter met April 26 and voted unanimously to send a letter of protest to NOW President Eleanor Smeal.

"We feel that this resolution is not only an attack on the SWP, but a challenge to the basic norms of democracy that should be N.O.W.'s tradition," the letter states.

"We all feel that N.O.W. should be open to all women who support the aims of the organization regardless of their political affiliation."

"Redbaiting within the women's movement cannot be tolerated by N.O.W. or any other organization because it will lead to the destruction of our movement and defeat our goals. Where there are political differences, there should be a full and democratic discussion free of name-calling and baiting."

"We hope that the new national leadership of N.O.W. will reverse this dangerous motion and reaffirm N.O.W.'s non-exclusive character."

In Seattle, a petition circulated at the NOW meeting right after the national conference was signed by the chapter president, treasurer, and several task force coordinators.

The petition states each signer's opposition to the red-baiting motion. "This hurts NOW," it says, and then continues, "I am opposed to red-baiting and feel strongly that NOW must be open to any person, regardless of political affiliation."

Right after the red-baiting motion was passed at the Detroit conference, 112 women there signed a petition saying, "We are opposed to the resolution against the SWP, which is also a resolution against NOW. NOW should



Militant/Anne Teesdale

NOW national conference. 'Where there are political differences, there should be a full and democratic discussion free of name-calling and baiting,' wrote Newark NOW.

be open to all women regardless of their political persuasions."

NOW members are circulating similar petitions around the country and presenting motions against red-baiting to chapter meetings.

Red-baiting has long been used in the labor, civil rights, and antiwar movements to discredit and isolate socialists and other militants. Its purpose is to shift the spotlight away from their ideas and proposals onto their real or "suspected" political affiliations.

In recent years red-baiting has been seriously undermined. FBI documents have revealed that charging "manipulation" by socialists is a favorite government technique in its attempts to disrupt and divide the women's movement.

Throughout the NOW conference, members of the SWP and other NOW members—many of whom supported a resolution on Defending Women's Rights in the Second Decade—wanted to see a full political discussion on perspectives for NOW.

Opponents of this resolution sought to cover up their political disagreements by branding all resolution

supporters "SWPers" and all pleas for a full discussion "disruptive."

Black and Latina women from the Minority Women workshop tried to bring issues of concern to them to the floor for debate. They were accused of being "used" by the SWP in rumors that circulated around the conference.

SWP spokesperson Willie Mae Reid told the *Militant* that the conference red-baiting motion is an attempt by the NOW leadership to "block any disagreement with their perspectives for NOW."

"The issue is not the SWP against NOW, nor is it NOW against the SWP. The issue is the right of all NOW members to raise questions or have diverse opinions without fear they will be labeled 'disruptive' and 'disloyal.'"

"Red-baiting cuts across the crucial need to mount a united response to counter the far-ranging attacks on women's rights."

"Without free discussion, debate, and real democracy," Reid concluded, "we can never unite the women's movement in action."

Ruth Gage Colby, the well-known peace activist and a founding member of NOW, attended this year's confer-

ence. But she wasn't there for the red-baiting motion. When informed about it by the *Militant*, she commented, "It seems to me that any group who cooperates in good faith with the purposes of NOW should be welcomed and shouldn't face any kind of censorship."

Gloria Steinem told the *Militant*, "I believe in coalitions around mutually supported issues with other groups, including the Socialist Workers party."

Nancy Borman, publisher of the feminist newspaper *Majority Report*, said, "It's strange for NOW to zero in on the Socialist Workers party when the most obvious manipulation of the women's movement has been done by the Democratic party and the Republican party."

Borman says the new NOW leadership is "getting off to a wrong start" with this red-baiting motion. She thinks the SWP has helped "to build NOW as an independent organization."

"The ERA demonstrations and abortion rallies that have been initiated by SWP members in NOW chapters have been only for the good of NOW and have helped to build the chapters."

## New York NOW rejects 'loyalty oath'

By Marcia Gallo

NEW YORK—More than sixty women filled the New York headquarters of the National Organization for Women (NOW) April 28 for a membership meeting. It was the first meeting since the national conference in Detroit the previous weekend.

Under a point on the national gathering, Dianne Feeley—a delegate to the conference and head of the NOW-New York Equal Rights Amendment subcommittee—took the floor to explain a red-baiting motion passed by the conference after the scheduled adjournment time.

The motion "protests attempts by the Socialist Workers party to use NOW" and to "exploit the feminist movement." Feeley told the New York meeting that this motion was passed in a "witch-hunt atmosphere," using false rumors about the SWP as fuel.

"The red-baiting atmosphere in our chapter will only be intensified if we let this motion stand," she said.

After Feeley finished speaking Lucy Komisar, a former national board member of NOW, whipped out a thick packet of papers and cataloged a series of charges against members of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance.

Most of these accusations dated back to the early 1970s. In 1972 Komisar authored a slanderous report that was widely distributed in the women's movement. It was called "Confidential Report to the NOW Governing Board on the Activities of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance." The charges in the slander sheet were painstakingly refuted by SWP and YSA members at



Militant/Susan Ellis

FEELEY: Motion against SWP passed in 'witch-hunt atmosphere.'

that time. Nevertheless, Komisar dusted them off for this new attack on NOW members who are in the SWP.

She charged that the socialists had "stolen money," "taken over" women's liberation groups, and "diverted" women away from "legislative action toward mass demonstrations." She reported "atrocious stories" about the SWP and YSA from all

over the country: Boston, New York, Chicago, Houston, Denver, Seattle, Philadelphia, and even Canada.

Komisar's report was devoid of any proof of these charges. When she was asked where she got this "inside information," she replied that it came from "personal letters" compiled during the early 1970s. She added that this chronicle had to be updated to include the most recent charges.

Komisar went on to question the loyalty of NOW members who are in the SWP.

After Komisar finished, Feeley spoke, rejecting this "loyalty oath." The "loyalty" of members of NOW, she said, is shown through action.

Feeley introduced a motion that stated:

"NOW-NY reaffirms NOW's tradition and policy that no person shall be excluded from membership, segregated, or otherwise discriminated against within the organization because of political affiliation, race, color, sex, religion, national origin, age, economic status, marital status, parenthood, affectional preference, or life-style."

During debate on the motion, one woman argued against it on the basis that it would be "counter to the intent" of the motion passed at the national conference—"the highest body of NOW."

Another woman said she supported the non-exclusionary motion and noted the similarity of this discussion and the one around the "lesbian purge," which took place in our chapter several years ago."

By the time the vote was taken, some women had left the meeting, and several did not vote. But the motion to reaffirm NOW's non-exclusionary policy passed, twenty-six to six, with three abstentions.



## L.A. already buses 42,000

# Racists OK busing—whites to white schools

By Joanie Quinn

LOS ANGELES—Black people know what they're talking about when they say, "It ain't the bus, it's us."

Racist antibusing forces in this city have been waging a fight to prevent school desegregation. Now it has been disclosed that 20 percent of the students in Los Angeles are bused to school.

This massive busing has drawn no fire from the racists. Only a small fraction of it, you see, is for desegregation.

Figures establishing the present scope of school busing came out April 25 at the court hearing on the "voluntary desegregation" plan cooked up by the city school board. The plan has come under strong criticism from Black and Chicano leaders here.

The attorney for Bustop, a segregationist outfit, has argued that busing is too "dangerous."

It was during the debate around this

charge that some revealing figures came out.

Robert Barnes, a school official, testified that the city is currently busing 42,000 pupils to school.

Of these, 24,500 are bused for their safety and well-being—either because the walk would be too long or too dangerous.

Only 10,800 are bused for desegregation purposes. Another 7,000 are handicapped students.

In addition, another 30,000 students are assigned to schools far enough from home that they have to use the public bus system.

These figures expose the phony racist propaganda about those "terrible yellow buses."

Actually, a great deal of busing currently takes place in strongholds of racist opposition to desegregation. The suburban sprawl here places many white students quite far from their schools.

The racists have threatened a "bloody battle" if the school board attempts to use busing to desegregate. One Bustop leader declared they would make South Boston look like a "tea party."

But busing white children to white schools seems to be OK.

Likewise with the school board. One of their arguments against implementing a serious desegregation plan is that Los Angeles can't afford busing.

Yet the present busing bill of \$14 million a year has never even been considered worth mentioning. The money suddenly gets tight when there are Black and Brown children involved.

On the day following the hearing, Superior Court Judge Paul Egly gave his go-ahead to phase one of the school board's "voluntary desegregation" plan. Egly himself has conceded that the plan fails to desegregate even one single school.

Egly's April 26 decision drew fire from the American Civil Liberties Union, which is representing the plaintiffs in the case. ACLU attorney Edward Medvene expressed concern that by attracting a few minority students to majority white schools under this phase of the plan, those schools would then be exempted from further desegregation orders and remain predominantly white.

The plan, at best, would bring token desegregation to less than one-third of the city's 264 segregated elementary schools.

In addition, the plan nowhere addresses the problem of busing white students to force upgrading of predominantly Black and Chicano schools.

Although Judge Egly urged the board to extend the voluntary phase one plan, his ruling puts a stamp of legitimacy on the board's effort to avoid genuine desegregation.

# Author tours Boston, blasts anti-Black violence

By Anne Teesdale

Jon Hillson, author of *The Battle of Boston: Busing and the Struggle for School Desegregation*, has just completed a successful media tour of that city to publicize his newly published book.

Hillson's account, published by Pathfinder Press, brings to life the events and personalities that shaped the first two years of school desegregation in Boston. As a correspondent for the *Militant*, Hillson provided week-by-week coverage of the racist antibusing offensive there and the struggle of the Black community and its allies for educational equality.

Nonetheless, Hillson's book contains much new material that has never appeared in the *Militant*.

Although Boston is no longer making headlines, attacks against Blacks have not abated. And an antibusing march in February drew 2,000 people.

Hillson condemned this new outburst of racism during his three-day tour April 18-20. He defended desegregation and Black rights in interviews with the *Bay State Banner*, *Christian Science Monitor*, and four radio stations, plus talk shows on NBC and two

other TV stations.

Only days before Hillson's tour, the South Boston Defense League—the paramilitary wing of the antibusing movement—had phoned a threat against a Black rally into WILD, a Black radio station.

Such threats are not idle talk. Thirty members of the defense league physically attacked a March 26 rally against U.S. aid to southern Africa's racist regimes. A caller identifying himself as Dennis O'Conner boasted of the assault later on a WBCN radio program. "We will use violence to protect our community," he said. "Our community is tough, independent, and white, and that's the way it will stay forever."

The new violence had surprised several of Hillson's interviewers, who thought that ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) and other antibusing groups were demoralized by their failure to achieve a court reversal of busing.

Hillson warned, "It's true that ROAR is more isolated now. They have a smaller base than ever. A growing number of whites—even among those opposing desegregation—are sick of

violence.

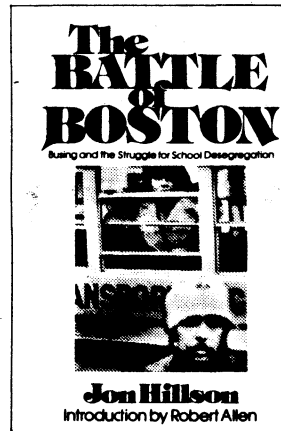
"On the other hand, there is a core of people who will fight to the finish. The biggest boost to them recently is a whole slough of anti-Black decisions that have been handed down by the U.S. Supreme Court."

Hillson pointed to the court's recent rulings overturning busing in Austin, Texas, and Indianapolis.

A chapter of the book that has aroused special interest is titled "Cracks in the Racist Monolith." It contains anonymous interviews with South Boston and Charlestown whites who were victims of racist harassment because they sent their children to school in defiance of the antibusing boycott.

"You know," Hillson commented, "there's a side to South Boston that even most South Bostonians are not aware of. Some of the most intransigent white foes of slavery and Black oppression in this city came from South Boston. John Boyle O'Reilly has a school named after him on the Dorchester-South Boston line. He was a great abolitionist. He's probably rolling in his grave over what's going on now."

Hillson is available for media interviews and speaking engagements. For more information contact Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, or call (212) 741-0690.



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# Protests answer Ku Klux Klan attacks

## Maryland

By Marc Strumpf

WASHINGTON—A broad cross section of civil rights activists and victims of racist attacks addressed a Speak Out Against Racist Attacks in Prince Georges County held at the First Baptist Church of Glenarden on April 25. A hundred people attended.

PG County, a Washington suburb with a large and growing Black population, has recently experienced a dramatic rise in Ku Klux Klan and other racist and anti-Semitic activity.

The meeting represented a wide range of organizations and individuals opposed to the attacks, including Sylvester Vaughns, president of the PG County NAACP; Ray Hanner of the Socialist Workers party; Philip Butler and Edith Buie, victims of racist attacks; Ken Morgan, president of the Black Faculty and Staff Association at the University of Maryland; Rabbi Saks of the Hillel Foundation; and Ed Joell from the Student Coalition Against Racism.

Philip Butler told the meeting that when a cross was burned on his lawn last month, the police said it was just a harmless prank.

There have been at least twenty-four cross burnings in the last two years, eight of which have occurred in the last month. Although police undercover agents have been operating inside the Klan for the last seven months, the majority of incidents have not been solved.

Ray Hanner of the Socialist Workers party commented, "We have to ask: Where were these police undercover agents when these cross burnings were taking place?"

Rabbi Saks of the College Park Hillel Foundation told the crowd that Jews have been harassed by racists and that a cross was burned in front of Hillel offices. "We are not willing to let racists have a field day in Prince Georges County," he asserted.

NAACP chapter president Sylvester Vaughns, a frequent target of threats, commented, "What we have is a racist climate in PG County that includes the Klan, that includes the county police."

## Arizona

By Betsy McDonald

TUCSON, Ariz.—Under the banner "Tucsonans Against Racism," community leaders held a news conference here April 22 to condemn racist violence being fomented in Tucson high schools by the Ku Klux Klan.

The KKK has attempted to intimidate and terrorize some 130 Black students attending Palo Verde High School. Racist slogans, threats, and a cross burning at the school have sparked clashes between Black and white students. The tensions have now spread to other Tucson high schools.

"We hold that the majority of Tucsonans believe in equality and democracy," said a statement released to the press. "The way to eliminate racial violence at Palo Verde is to repudiate those who use racial slogans, racial threats, and physical provocation against the black students. We call on the entire community in Tucson to support the Palo Verde black stu-

dents against harassment and intimidation by a minority of racist students aligning themselves with the Ku Klux Klan."

The statement was signed by Margo Cowan of the Manzo Area Council; Dr. Paul Damon; Jinx Damon of the American Civil Liberties Union; ministers from four Tucson churches; and other movement activists.

Becky Yates of the Tucson chapter of the National Organization for Women said, "The National Organization for Women seeks equal rights for women in education. No woman, no person, can be educated to her full potential in an atmosphere of tension and hatred. . . . And the students most harmed are Black women who daily confront racial and sexual prejudice."

Statements were made by the Tucson Student Coalition Against Racism; Helen Mautner of the Arizona Civil Liberties Union; Henry Raymond of the Black Citizens for Quality Education; Sam Newsome, president of the South Arizona chapter of the Philip Randolph Institute; and others.

# 1,200 hear Angela Davis at Iran protest in Seattle

By Susie Berman

SEATTLE—Angela Davis, a well-known Black activist and Communist party leader, addressed a crowd of 1,200 people here April 12 at the University of Washington. The meeting was the largest yet sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) in defense of Iranian political prisoners.

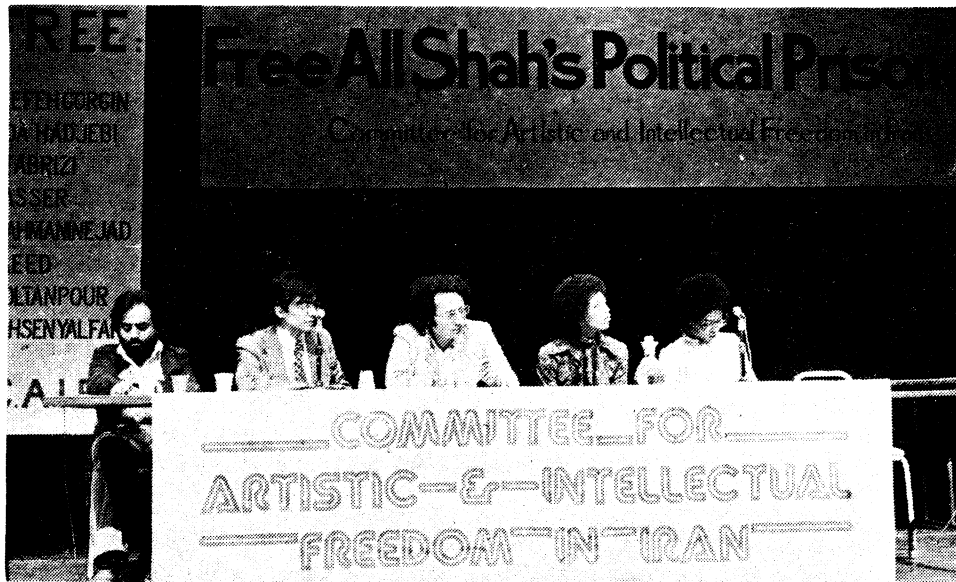
Also speaking were CAIFI National Field Secretary Babak Zahraie; Ahmad Karimi, a former professor at the University of Tehran; now teaching at Columbia University; and Ali Shokri, who defected from the Iranian air force in 1973 in protest of the shah's repressive policies.

Davis blasted the complicity of the U.S. government with the shah's reign of terror. She explained that Iran is the largest purchaser of U.S. arms.

Davis told the audience that "it is our responsibility to participate in, indeed to organize around, demands to free political prisoners in Iran."

Babak Zahraie spoke on how the shah uses SAVAK—Iran's dread secret police force—to maintain his power. Thousands of SAVAK agents have been trained to forge, burglarize, and murder not only in Iran, but in the United States and Europe as well.

Zahraie estimated there are currently 100,000 political prisoners in Iran. Thousands of them, he said,



SPEAKERS AT SEATTLE IRAN PROTEST MEETING (left to right): Ali Shokri, Babak Zahraie, Ahmad Karimi, Angela Davis.

face torture and possible death. The attacks on the Iranian people have escalated in the last year. So far in 1977, Zahraie said, there have been eighty known executions of political prisoners in Iran.

Ahmad Karimi described the effects of the shah's censorship. He said that writers have developed a habit of self-censorship. Even religious ceremonies, he reported, are tape-recorded by SAVAK.

Shokri defected from the Iranian air force while stationed at a training base in San Antonio, Texas. He lived underground for two-and-a-half

years in Canada; then he returned to the United States.

He is now fighting to remain in this country. He has been told by immigration authorities, however, that since his is a military case, it must be handled by the U.S. State Department.

The Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Ali Shokri has been formed in Seattle to help publicize his case and raise funds to pay for legal expenses. For more information, contact the committee at: 207 HUB, Post Office Box 79, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington 98195.

# Garza slams Carey's 'betrayal' of Irish

By Jenny Brookstone

NEW YORK—In a statement released here April 23, Socialist Workers party mayoral candidate Catarino Garza blasted Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey's slanderous attacks on the Irish freedom struggle.

Carey, speaking at a Dublin news conference the day before, called Irish republicans "killers" and "Marxists" who should not receive "a nickel" from Irish-Americans.

Both the official and provisional republican groups are leading organizations in the struggle for self-determination by Northern Ireland's Catholic majority. The Protestant minority there supports continued British rule to defend its social and economic privileges.

Many Irish-Americans give funds to aid Catholic freedom fighters and their families who have been victimized in both the north and south of Ireland. British occupation forces have tortured and killed many republicans. Whole Catholic neighborhoods have been targeted by right-wing Protestant terrorists. In the Irish Republic, freedom fighters are held under intolerable prison conditions.

Carey's remarks were obviously aimed at undercutting Irish-American aid for victims of this oppression. The New York governor maintained that "if the provisionals were simply called 'the Irish killers' and the others 'the Irish Marxists,' people would see what they stood for and they wouldn't receive a nickel's worth of support in the United States."

Carey hypocritically condemned the republicans for what he called the "politics of death."

Garza branded the governor's remarks an "underhanded betrayal of the freedom struggle of the Irish people. Carey slanders the victims of violence as the perpetrators of violence."

"For too long," the socialist candidate said, "Irish-Americans have looked to Democratic party politicians of Carey's ilk as allies of the Irish civil rights movement."

"But Carey's April 22 statement shows that these capitalist politicians hate and fear the struggle of oppressed nations from Ireland to Vietnam. They know the logic of these struggles against imperialist oppression is to rip these lands from the hands of profit-hungry exploiters."

That's why socialists—unlike big-business politicians like Carey—consistently support the Irish freedom struggle," Garza continued.

"Irish-Americans will never win the support of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other potential allies of the Irish struggle," the SWP candidate warned, "while they serve among the shock troops for the Democratic party's antibusing drive—as many do in Boston—or as vote getters for the Democratic party's cutback artists in New York City, Albany, and Washington."

"Those who truly support the liberating thrust of the Irish freedom struggle have nothing to gain from also supporting the profits-first, racist, union-busting Democratic party. It's time that Irish-Americans learned this lesson and broke out of the dead end Democratic party politics."

## DeBerry nets 21% in council vote

# Mayoral runoff set in Oakland

By Tom Tomasko

OAKLAND, Calif.—Only 45 percent of the electorate bothered to vote in this city's April 19 election for mayor and city council.

None of the Democratic or Republican candidates in this supposedly "nonpartisan" campaign offered any effective solutions to the joblessness and racist oppression that confront working people here. All the leading contenders advocated a "better business climate" as the solution to Oakland's 15 percent unemployment rate.

In some parts of the Black community here, joblessness soars to more than 30 percent.

Lionel Wilson, a Black superior court judge favored by most Democratic party leaders in northern California, received 44 percent of the vote. He was also backed by the Black Panther party, New American Movement, Communist party, and Tom Hayden. Wilson will face David Tucker—a white investment banker—in a May 17 runoff election.

The Socialist Workers party candidates—Paul Boutelle for mayor and Jude Coren and Clifton DeBerry for city council—are telling Oakland voters that neither Tucker nor Wilson

offers a meaningful alternative.

The socialists call on working people here to break with the two big-business parties and launch their own political alternative. Only an independent working-class party, they say, can win gains for Oakland's labor movement and Black and Chicano communities.

The SWP candidates used the election to explain this idea to thousands of Oakland voters. One high point of their campaign was the socialists' exposure that more than \$16.6 million in city pension funds were invested in U.S. corporations that operate in South Africa.

On March 22 Boutelle—along with Michael Fultz, editor of the *Black Panther* newspaper; Kara Obradivich of the Student Coalition Against Racism; Paul Cobb of the Oakland Citizens Committee for Urban Renewal; and John Katz of the New American Movement—presented a statement to the city council demanding withdrawal of these investments in apartheid.

The statement was signed by more than a dozen community leaders, organizations, and candidates, including Wilson; U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums; John George, Alameda County supervisor; Dr. Carlton Goodlet and Thomas Fleming, the publisher and editor of the *Sun Reporter*, a Black newspaper; and Michael Martin, editor of another Black newspaper, the *California Voice*.

But the city council voted five to two against withdrawing the investments.

The SWP candidates also blasted the plan by Alameda County to spend more than \$34 million to build a new pretrial detention jail in Oakland. Such funds, they said, should be used instead for job-creating public works programs—which could help build new schools, hospitals, and child-care centers. The jail, ironically, is designed to hold people too poor to raise bail.

The SWP's aggressive campaigning

on these and other issues met with a good response here in Oakland.

DeBerry received 12,904 votes, 21.5 percent of the total—between 50 and 60 in some precincts in the Black community. His campaign was endorsed by the *Black Panther* and the *East Bay Voice*, newspaper of the New American Movement here.

The *Black Panther* endorsement said: "Socialist Workers Party candidate Clifton DeBerry has an impressive record of trade union and socialist-organizing activity. A strong supporter of 'Jobs, Not Jails,' DeBerry has taken a leading position in the growing campaign to end city of Oakland investment in corporations that have links to apartheid South Africa. Calling for a massive public works program, DeBerry believes, 'Only when people get meaningful jobs will the crime rate go down.' We agree."

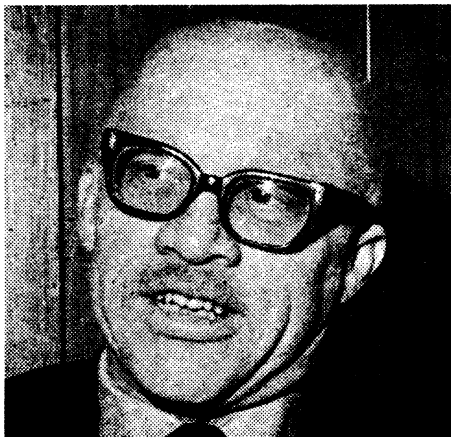
DeBerry's opponent, Goerge Vukas-in, an incumbent Republican, was also backed by the Democrats.

Coren ran against three opponents in her district. She received 2,042 votes, or 3.2 percent.

Boutelle ran sixth in a field of ten candidates for mayor. He received 363 votes, or .5 percent.



PAUL BOUTELLE



CLIFTON DeBERRY

## Warfare on welfare

President Carter unveiled his welfare reform plan May 2. Rather than the comprehensive reorganization he had promised, he delivered a dozen "goals."

"There should be incentives to be honest and to eliminate fraud," the president pontificated in goal number ten. "The programs should be simpler and easier to administer."

But behind the vagueness and platitudes, the thrust of Carter's program is reactionary to the core.

Goal number one: "No higher initial cost than the present systems." This means no additional aid to the poor. With inflation, it means a cut in real aid.

The average state pays out \$275 a month—\$3,300 a year—to a family of four enrolled in Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the main welfare program. That's way below even the official government poverty level of \$5,500.

Goals two, three, four, five, and seven are all roundabout ways of saying that people on welfare must accept whatever job the government offers. This is demagoguery aimed at whipping up racist sentiment against "welfare bums." But of the 11.2 million people in the main welfare program, all but 700,000 are children or their mothers. And the overwhelming majority of the rest are disabled or old people.

What might Carter's plan mean in practice? In Milwaukee, welfare recipients are forced to work for the county at two dollars an hour. After taxes and job-related expenses, they take home less than forty-five dollars a week.

To make room for the 600 forced laborers, the county fired 550 employees. They had been paid more than twice as much and had hospitalization insurance, retirement benefits, and a union.

Carter's welfare "goals" dovetail with two related measures he took in April. One was a proposed reorganization of the food stamp program. Benefits will be reduced for one-third of all recipients and 1.5 million people will be purged.

The second was a cut in unemployment benefits. Maximum coverage for the long-term unemployed has been reduced from sixty-five to fifty-two weeks. In addition, your benefits can be cut off after thirty-nine weeks if you don't accept a minimum-wage job. Under the old rules, the government couldn't force you to take a cut in pay of more than 10 percent.

Carter's program is more cutbacks and a lower standard of living for working people. What should be done instead is to guarantee a job to every person at union-scale wages; and guarantee those unable to work an income equal to that of a union-scale worker.

The money to finance such a program is available from Carter's budget. It should be taken from the record \$120 billion military appropriation.

## A well-beaten PATH

President Carter claims that his new energy plan will help conserve the earth's gas and oil supplies.

If Carter were genuinely concerned about conserving these valuable resources, he logically would have proposed a massive expansion and overhaul of this country's mass transit system.

But because Carter's real concern is boosting the profits of the giant energy trust, he didn't utter one word about mass transportation in his energy message to Congress.

Taking a cue from the White House, the U.S. Supreme Court has now leveled a blow at mass transit.

The court barred the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey from spending any money it gets from bridge and tunnel tolls to expand mass transit.

Bondholders had sued PATH because—they claimed—mass transportation projects lose money and their precious, tax-free dividends might be threatened.

The court backed them up. The justices ruled that the plan to allocate tolls to mass transit violates the constitutional protection of contracts. The bondholders, you see, bought bonds expecting the Port Authority to rake in a lot of money on tolls, not "squander" them on luxuries such as subways.

So all the rhetoric about rational use of "dwindling" natural resources went out the window. Instead, the court gave top priority to what is most important to American capitalism—profits and dividends.

And the needs of working people and concern for the environment came out last.

Justice Harry Blackmun, who wrote the decision, said it all. Although he conceded that mass transportation is a desirable goal, Blackmun asserted: "A state cannot refuse to meet its legitimate financial obligations simply because it would prefer to spend the money to promote the public good rather than the private welfare of its creditors."

## A message from Andres Figueroa Cordero

The Militant has received the following two letters from Andrés Figueroa Cordero. Figueroa Cordero is one of five Puerto Rican nationalists who have been held in federal prison since the early 1950s.

Although Figueroa Cordero is dying of cancer, the government refuses to release him.

The longer of the two letters was sent to Militant staff writer José G. Pérez, who visited Figueroa Cordero in prison last fall along with Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo. It has been translated from Spanish by the Militant.

I am in receipt of your letter of March 18, 1977, which states that you are updating your subscribers list to the *Militant*.

I enjoy reading the paper and would very much like to continue receiving it. . . .

Thank you for reminding me of the necessity of renewing my subscription, and let me say that I look forward to receiving your paper for a long time to come.

Dear *compañeros*,

I thank you very much for your noble newspaper, the *Militant*, and your noble members who know how to maintain it, to their credit. It is a paper for the liberation struggle of the North American people and the working masses, who fight to free themselves from the exploiting hands of the imperialist parasites.

When a people take consciousness of their duties and of what is right, they ought to defend the oppressed of all nations of the world. And thereby, conscience begins to flower before the eyes of humanity.

Imperialism on one hand is looking for peace, and on the other hand commits aggression against the free peoples of the world. Look at Thailand, where an aggression is taking place just like the one in Cambodia.

The demagogues of this nation of liberty and religion are hypocrites. They are the ones who carry out these aggressions against the peoples of Asia and Africa and the Middle East and all the other nations of the world. The world is too small for these parasites.

There can be no doubt that [Andrew] Young has to leave the United Nations, because things are going badly for the Black puppet. That post is for the white puppets and criminals and pirates and thieves and con men and rogues and hypocrites.

Greetings to the leftist people of the United States and the oppressed masses of the planet. And to Latino peoples—Central, South, North American and Antillian—a very cordial greeting in the name of the free and sovereign and independent republic of Puerto Rico.

*¡Patria o muerte y venceremos!*

Andrés Figueroa Cordero

#78998-132

Box 4000

Springfield, Missouri 65802

### Racism and prejudice

Roger Witherspoon's fine column reprinted in the April 29 *Militant* contained what I believe is a slight error. Mr. Witherspoon states, "We do not ask that whites give up any prejudices or preconceived notions about us, either."

As a white worker, I am continuously aware of these "prejudices" that afflict many white workers. It is extremely important for these workers to discover the origin of these socially repressive traits before they can remove them from their characters.

As long as white workers tenaciously hold on to these "prejudices" and think in terms of "them and us," Blacks and all other minorities will not be able to move forward.

It is necessary to replace division with solidarity. Without positive labor solidarity no worker will be able to progress—not even the white worker.

Craig McKissic

Silver Spring, Maryland

### On the spot

Bravo to the *Militant's* continuing use of on-the-spot coverage to keep its readers highly informed—most recently David Frankel's excellent article from the Mideast.

Stories like Cindy Jaquith's interviews with striking UMW miners in Brookside, Kentucky, several years ago and José G. Pérez's moving account of the vigil outside the Utah prison as Gary Gilmore was led away for execution are not easily forgotten and set the *Militant* apart from its competition.

One small suggestion, however. Contrary to the saying "If you've got

it, flaunt it," understatement is often a more powerful way to underscore your accomplishments. Printing the photograph of correspondent David Frankel posed with West Bank villagers in the April 22 issue was a way of emphasizing the *Militant's* "scoop" that came out appearing amateurish and failed to add to the article's impact.

S.W.

New York, New York

### Social 'security'

I work for the Social Security Administration, which each month dispenses millions of retirement, disability, and supplemental income checks.

The subject of Social Security and its obvious inequities would take a five-page report. I'd like to discuss only the Supplemental Security Income program, which began in January 1974.

The program has so many qualifications that many people are discouraged from applying, many are declared ineligible, and program employees develop a callous and adversary attitude toward the people they are supposed to help.

Instructions are written to make the program as impersonal as possible. We are deluged by instructions telling how to collect overpayments—usually the administration's fault in the first place—from these poor Americans.

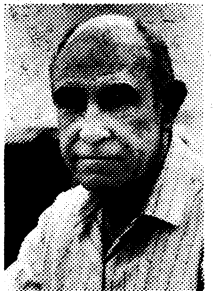
The entire program is based on fear.

On the average, if an individual aged or disabled person has more than \$187.80 per month income, he or she is ineligible for the Supplemental Security Income program. A couple with more than \$271.80 income is also



# National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## 'Parity' for teachers

There never was a time of silence when small voices of protest were not heard in the union movement against working conditions imposed by employers and dictatorial control imposed by union bureaucrats. Today these voices are becoming stronger, clearer, and sharper than in the recent past.

Many locals in nearly every major union have an activist caucus or a regular unofficial publication that tries to be the "voice of opposition." Some have developed from petty struggles over local union posts, representing little more than the hopes of a small group of disappointed office-seekers.

Not so long ago this was the typical "opposition caucus." That may still be true, but something different is beginning to appear. Some of the more recent genuine rank-and-file publications express ideas about real union problems.

An example is a small mimeographed newsletter for teachers at a Michigan community college. It is produced by Ron Jameson, who is a teacher at the college and a member of the National Education Association. Jameson's newsletter is called *Parity*, which I suppose has some local meaning. It is in its second year of publication. The issue that caught my attention is Volume II, No. 1, dated March 23, 1977. This is what it says:

"Why We Need a Cost of Living Clause

"The price of gas has gone up for everybody. This winter's heating bills are twice as high as last year's. A bill of \$100 a month means living in colder houses, having less and cutting back on necessities just to stay warm.

"The gas company—which wants to raise the rates again—says that it hasn't raised the price of gas. It has just passed along its increased costs.

"The College must pay more for heat too. So must the State. Even if temperatures are lowered and we work under colder conditions, they still must pay more. This is because the cost of gas has gone up.

"The gas company does not have to go on strike to cover increasing costs. It does not face the threat of being fired or victimized by the State or the Administration. Its leaders are not thrown in jail. It just passes on the increased prices because costs have gone up. And the State pays the bill.

"Well, what about us? When our costs go up why

don't we get a raise? Why don't we get to pass along increases in the cost of living instead of getting stuck with the bill. This is how a cost of living clause would protect us. When prices go up, we would get a pay increase. That way we would pass along our increased costs that come from an inflation we did not cause. We would stop getting poorer every year, and we would not always be the ones forced to sacrifice."

Another short piece in this newsletter is about unionism. The following is what it says:

"Union? What Union?"

"Has anybody seen the union lately?"

"Last fall we were sold a 3 percent raise, then it disappeared. Every two weeks it takes \$19.65 out of our paychecks, then it disappears again.

"Is it any wonder we feel alone and isolated? The Administration has pushed our backs against the wall. We have antagonized the community by asking it to pay higher taxes. We have antagonized students by supporting higher tuition and letting the Board raise class sizes.

"Because we are not united, we have no union. Because we feel weak, we have no leadership. Because we have no leadership, we have no direction. So we go backwards, and from year to year things get worse.

"Things could be different. We could say we are serious about defending our jobs and living conditions. We could elect a leadership committed to struggle. That would force the Administration to take note. And we would be taking our first step forward.

"To do that we need to build a democratic union. We need a union that actually exists and that is willing to fight day to day for its members. We need union meetings and membership participation. We need a newsletter and open communication. We need a union that encourages us to file grievances and protects us on the job.

"This means we don't need a leadership team of two or three, but a union of the members. This can happen only if we build a fighting union."

This does not pretend to answer the present-day problems of the working class, which are basically the problems of the decaying capitalist society. But when workers in their unions begin to raise these kinds of questions, they are on the road to finding the answers to their problems.

ineligible. How can anyone survive on that mere pittance?

The answer is, they don't. Many go without things—like food.

We have had to disqualify obviously destitute people just because they have a \$200 monthly pension. The whole system is blatantly unfair, but no one will do anything about it.  
M.C.

### Torture

An article advocating torture written by Patrick J. Buchanan appeared in the January/February issue of *Skeptic* magazine. I immediately wrote a letter of protest to the editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, which carries Buchanan's syndicated column.

A month later I received a reply from Buchanan, restating his position: "The moral argument can be made that if there are isolated occasions when it is moral to use lethal force . . . then, conceivably, there are occasions when less lethal means, i.e. inducing physical pain, may be justified."

But his whole article was based on the argument that torture was *less* a violation of rights than killing. I still reject this.

Countries that use capital punishment openly announce executions. But those that torture steadfastly deny it. The reason seems obvious to me, although it apparently escapes Buchanan.

P.R.

Joliet, Illinois

### Carter's 'mandate'

The capitalist press has created the impression that Jimmy Carter got 51 percent of the popular vote in the November election. Comprehensive statistics are hard to come by, but I have managed to calculate that Carter actually fell 13,565 votes short of 50 percent and is, in fact, a minority president, as Nixon was when he took office in 1969.

More than 2 percent of the voters deserted the Democratic and Republican parties. This is remarkable because the elections fell during the kind of "Republican" economic stagnation that usually drives a majority of the voters into the arms of the Democrats. It should also be noted that nearly half the eligible voters—47 percent—were so disenchanted that they stayed away from the polls.

Whether Carter received just under or just over half the vote may seem a trivial point. But it is well to remind ourselves that his policies do not arise from some popularly ordained "mandate." Rather, they are the work of a minority president whose much-vaunted popularity in the public opinion polls is a bubble which should soon burst.

Lawrence Daley

Detroit, Michigan

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

## Women in Revolt

Willie Mae Reid



## What price unity?

DETROIT—Outgoing President Karen DeCrow turned over the reins of the National Organization for Women (NOW) to Eleanor Smeal in an atmosphere that DeCrow said was a first for NOW.

"History is being made here today," DeCrow proclaimed. "You have a former president and a current president standing here on the same platform together who are going to smile at each other and get along." The two embraced.

This message of "unity" pervaded the NOW national conference held here April 21-24. The "majority caucus" and "minority caucus," whose battle for leadership dominated the last conference, in Philadelphia, dissolved into a congenial whole for this meeting. They are firmly united on NOW's future course.

But this "unity" in NOW is phony. Conference participants were not of one mind on how to move the struggle for women's rights forward. To claim that they were before the conference had even started—as DeCrow did at a news conference—could only be seen as a move to stifle discussion.

And that's exactly what happened. Women who tried to introduce political discussion on a different perspective were made to look like *opponents* of a united women's movement. The idea of having political discussion before the election of officers was portrayed as divisive.

Those NOW members who opposed the leadership's proposal for relying on Democrats and wanted to have this strategy debated all became part of a rumored "take-over" by the Socialist Workers party.

Many women resented this insult to their ability to think for themselves.

"I don't really think there was a valid political discussion arranged for. I didn't need any socialist party to point this out to me," a Florida NOW member told the *Militant*.

"There is no minority representation on various committees that are taking up critical issues," this delegate—who preferred that the *Militant* not use her name—went on to explain. "There is no outreach to Blacks and minorities.

"There is no outreach to anyone who is different. They really do not seem to be inviting all types from the mainstream to come into the chapters and join.

"Just those that they think are like them or can be molded to be with them. In other words, they do not like dissent. I feel that the movement looks like it has moved to the right."

The Equal Rights Amendment lost in Florida just before the conference. The defeat was still on her mind as she described the politicians NOW had lobbied.

"I felt that we are selling our souls to these politicians who *may* vote for the ERA. I had a chance to talk to several of them at length. They voted for the ERA, but their positions on other things horrified me. Some of them are plain out and out misogynists."

"The thing about this conference that disturbs me," she said, "is that they are stifling dissent. We have got to have dissent and democracy or it is not going to work."

A red-baiting motion passed at the end of the conference, charging SWP members in NOW with "using" and "exploiting" the feminist movement, will be used to try to whip dissenters into line.

For the sake of unity around a losing strategy, NOW members are being robbed of their right to disagree.

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**Petty criticisms**—"And while there is undoubtedly a need for national energy planning . . . the most effective step the U.S. could take . . . is to free up domestic prices of crude oil, gasoline and natural gas. For a variety of reasons, to be sure, that can't be done all at once. There would be renewed uproar about 'obscene' profits, and the utility bills of homeowners . . . would shoot up too fast."—*Fortune* magazine.

**Grouse and grits?**—President Carter is picking up the food tab for the eight members of his family living in

the White House. He said it made him realize how high food costs are when he got a \$600 grocery bill for the first ten days.

**Sounds reasonable**—Ice on the Chesapeake Bay isolated Smith Island from the rest of Maryland during the winter storms. State officials dropped plans to fly in disaster-employment applications in favor of handling them by phone. But, local fishermen reported, insurance agents were flown in by helicopter to collect monthly payments.

**Pentagon doves**—Sen. Thomas McIntyre (D-N.H.) says American nuclear strategy calls for destroying 70 percent of the Soviet industry that would be required for recovery after a war. However, the senator expressed concern because the Pentagon advised him that the Soviet population was "not targeted per se."

**Includes few doctors**—Dr. Joe Davis, Dade County, Florida, medical examiner, says most murders are no loss to the community, "socially or

economically." Two-thirds, he said, are "people killing one another in drunken brawls, criminals killing criminals, police and honest people killing criminals."

**Wrong school**—"One Berkeley alumnus, Peter Camejo '66, ran for president on the Socialist Workers ticket but lost to an alumnus of the U.S. Naval Academy and Georgia Institute of Technology."—*The California Monthly*, UC Berkeley alumni magazine.

## iLa Raza en Acción!

### Issues facing Chicanas

BOULDER, Colo.—"The Chicana," wrote Susie Chacón and Irene Blea Gutiérrez, "like a butterfly from a cocoon, is emerging from her traditional role as a homemaker, to one of active participation in her community."

That was the sentiment expressed at the Chicana conference held here April 22-23.

Judging from the enthusiasm and optimism there, the participants are more than happy about that "emergence."

The conference was an important step forward for Chicanas who are beginning to discuss how they are oppressed. Strong sentiment was expressed for carrying this discussion to the national level.

Nearly 350 persons registered at the conference, the first such gathering to be held in Colorado. Actual attendance was higher.

According to Cleo Estrada, who was in charge of registration, 73 percent were women, 27 percent were men. She estimated that 97 percent were Chicano.

The conference received the active support of the United Mexican-American Students on campus. The Denver East chapter of the National Organization for Women sent a statement of support.

Panel discussions included Religion and the

Chicana; Chicanas and the Legal/Political System; Senior Chicanas; and Children: Business, Health, Education, and Social Services.

An important aspect of the conference was a series of cultural events, which included Chicana poets, musicians, and *teatro* skits.

After the panels, the conference broke down into smaller workshops where the audience could participate more fully.

Two speakers on the legal/political panel vehemently opposed the Equal Rights Amendment, claiming that it is a "bourgeois plot" intended to "divide the working class." In the workshop, they proposed that a resolution opposing the ERA be presented to the general body.

However, several women questioned this position, and the idea of an anti-ERA resolution was dropped.

Nonetheless, the workshop easily agreed to pass resolutions in support of equal pay for equal work, paid maternity leaves, day-care centers, and an end to forced sterilization.

A resolution also passed opposing the *Bakke* decision by the California Supreme Court. This ruling undermines affirmative-action programs for

Miguel Pendás



women and minorities in the state university system.

The workshop on religion proposed that priesthood be extended to women and that there be "altar girls." It was clear in the question period that many in the audience were far more critical of the Catholic church's policy toward women than were the panelists.

During the children panel one woman said that personal freedom for Chicanas should include the right to abortion and birth control. She declared, "We can find an identity outside the home and family. It should be something the culture does not look down upon." She was applauded.

The children workshop discussed at length the importance of bilingual education. Resolutions advocated adequate health care and the availability of birth control for Chicanas. The workshop sharply condemned the use of "our Latin American sisters as guinea pigs" by U.S. drug companies for testing unsafe birth control methods.

As one of its final acts, the conference voted to endorse the boycott of Coors beer called by Chicanos and striking brewery workers in nearby Golden.

## Capitalism Fouls Things Up

### 'Two chances in a thousand'

One of the worst oil spills in history began April 22 when a North Sea well "blew out." More than 4 million gallons of oil were dumped into the water during the first week.

The blowout occurred during routine maintenance of the rig, 160 miles offshore. A 250-square-mile oil slick began drifting toward the coasts of Norway and Denmark.

The first try at capping the well failed. Part of the apparatus needed to halt the oil flow had been installed upside down.

Ironically, the Norwegian government—which is part owner of the well—noted the serious consequences of such a blowout a year ago. A State Oil Directorate report pointed out that a blowout could spill as many as 1.5 million tons of oil at the rate of 10,000 tons a day.

But it estimated the likelihood of a blowout as only two in a thousand.

Yet it happened.

Cleaning up the oil will be a very difficult task in the stormy and unpredictable weather of the North Sea.

But even cleaning up can't undo the damage. Hans Christian Bugge, director of the Norway Pollution Control Authority, said the huge spill

"will affect our fish resources with almost ruinous consequences, as there is a thick layer of oil on the surface of the sea, killing the larvae and the fish eggs which would provide next year's fish."

Why did the Norwegian government give the green light to North Sea drilling despite these risks?

In March the North Sea field pumped nearly 10 million barrels of oil. The going price is about \$14.50 a barrel.

You figure it out.

There are many such offshore oil rigs within 160 miles of the U.S. coast.

A government study released last year admitted to a 64 percent likelihood that oil from a North Atlantic spill would reach the U.S. shore. In other words, count on it.

With enough offshore drilling going on, spills aren't accidents any more. They have become certainties.

\* \* \*

Millions of workers are exposed every day to cancer-causing substances. Many of them don't know it, either because their employer doesn't bother to tell them or because no one has ever checked on the possible effects of exposure.

Arnold Weissberg



In a rational society, where human life was more important than saving a buck, the discovery that someone had been exposed to a carcinogen would be cause for alarm.

But in the United States things are different.

It seems the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) knows of 74,000 workers who have been exposed to a high cancer risk. But it has so far refused to notify them.

NIOSH studies may turn up another 123,000 workers who have been exposed, said Dr. John Finklea, NIOSH head.

NIOSH apparently isn't concerned that an early warning of carcinogen exposure can mean the difference between life and death.

Finklea said his agency couldn't notify the affected workers because it lacked the authority and the funds.

He offered instead to turn the names over to other agencies.

Since most of the exposed workers are poor, Finklea said, simply notifying them without taking any follow-up action "might do more harm than good"—because they couldn't afford medical care anyway.

# Gay rights supporters rally in Miami

By Joe Kear

MIAMI—More than 300 people rallied at Temple Israel here April 28 in support of gay rights.

It was the largest public event so far in a campaign to preserve a Dade County ordinance that prohibits discrimination based on "affectional or sexual preferences." Right-wing forces led by singer Anita Bryant hope to repeal the ordinance in a special June 7 referendum.

The meeting, sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union, was an informal panel discussion among former National Football League player David Kopay, Massachusetts State Rep. Elaine Noble, former air force Sgt. Leonard Matlovich, and University of Miami law professor Bruce Winning.

Most questions from the audience reflected concern about how to respond to Anita Bryant's antigay slurs. For example, Bryant says gays aren't discriminated against as

long as they don't "flaunt their perversion."

"Anita Bryant gets me really angry," David Kopay said. "She says it's okay to have homosexual teachers as long as they're in their closets and not being themselves. She would say there should be no homosexual coaches. What if I wanted to pursue a career as a coach? Anita Bryant is not willing to give anybody that right to be themselves."

To show the impact of antigay discrimination, one member of the audience took an on-the-spot survey. "How many people here would lose their jobs if tomorrow they let it be known that they were homosexuals?" the person asked. Many hands shot into the air. "How many would lose custody of a child?" More hands went up. "How many might be evicted from apartments?"

"This is the reason we will have to win this election!"

Leonard Matlovich knows antigay

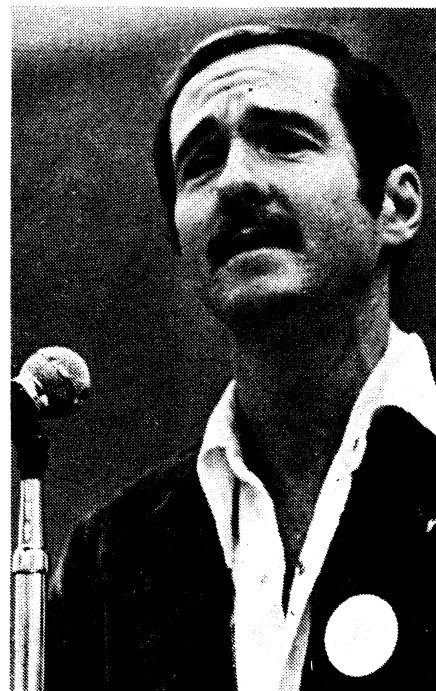
discrimination firsthand. He was discharged from the air force when he dared to identify himself publicly as a homosexual.

Now, Matlovich is a spokesperson for the Dade County Coalition for Human Rights, the major group organizing support for the ordinance. He urged people to attend the weekly coalition meetings and the coalition's May 3 benefit concert by Rod McKuen.

Matlovich was asked how he felt about voting on gay rights.

"I feel like a Jew in Nazi Germany or a Black in 1954 in Selma, Alabama," he responded. "The majority doesn't have the right to decide the rights of the minority."

Unfortunately, Florida's Democratic Gov. Reubin Askew disagrees. On April 29 he gave the antigay bigots a boost by announcing, "If I were in Miami, I would find no difficulty in voting to repeal the ordinance."



MATLOVICH: 'I feel like a Jew in Nazi Germany.'

## Banks faces extradition

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—A California appeals court ruled April 25 that Gov. Edmund Brown must send American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks back to South Dakota.

Governor Brown had, in effect, refused to extradite Banks by saying he was studying the case. Brown made it clear his study would go on indefinitely.

Banks is wanted in South Dakota for sentencing on trumped-up rioting and assault charges. The charges stem from a February 1973 police attack on an Indian protest in Custer, South Dakota.

The attack on the demonstration was only one of many grievances that led Indians on the nearby Pine Ridge Indian Reservation to occupy the town of Wounded Knee in 1973. After that occupation, the government decided to crush AIM.

The government framed up scores of activists; many were railroaded to prison. Other AIM members have been murdered; the culprits to this day remain unpunished.

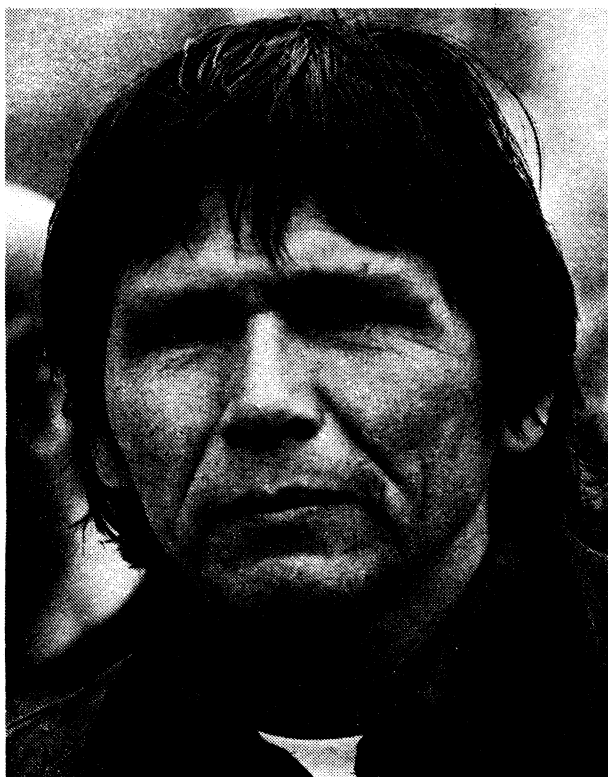
Banks has been a central target of the government attacks. He was a co-defendant in the 1974 Wounded Knee trial in St. Paul, Minnesota, which ended in vindication for the Indians.

Banks's trial on the Custer charges came up in the summer of 1975. Few details are known about the case, since it was conducted under a sweeping judicial gag order.

After an all-white jury convicted him, Banks failed to appear for sentencing. FBI agents arrested him in January 1976 as a fugitive from "justice."

After his arrest, Banks explained he fled South Dakota out of fear for his life. He appealed for public support against extradition.

Prodded by numerous rallies, protests, and



INDIAN LEADER DENNIS BANKS

750,000 signatures on petitions, Governor Brown decided Banks could stay.

Brown says he will appeal the latest court decision to the California Supreme Court. At issue is a 1937 statute that takes away from California's governor the latitude other governors have to shield persons from extradition.

## Chicago women set May 14 equal rights demonstration

By Suzanne Haig

CHICAGO—If you tuned into any one of seven Chicago radio stations April 26 you probably heard reports of an upcoming demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment.

In addition, three major daily newspapers and three television stations covered the news conference that day announcing plans for the May 14 march and rally at the Chicago Civic Center.

A vote on the ERA is expected in the state legislature late this spring. Organizations backing the May 14 action include: ERA Illinois; Phoenix Illinois and South Suburban chapters of the National Organization for Women; National Council of Negro Women; National Alliance of Black Feminists; Socialist Workers party; and leaders of the Urban League, Coalition of Labor Union Women, and Amalgated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

During the past week, groups outside Illinois informed the Committee for the ERA of their plans to attend the rally. Car pools to Chicago are being organized by the Wayne State University Committee to Defend the ERA in Detroit; Ann Arbor-Washtenaw County, Michigan, NOW; and Racine, Wisconsin, NOW.

Demonstrators will assemble at 1:00 p.m. at the Civic Center and will return to the center for a 2:00 p.m. rally after a march through the area.

For more information, contact the Committee for the ERA at the offices of the American Civil Liberties Union, 5 South Wabash, Room 1516, Chicago, Illinois 60603. Telephone: (312) 236-5564.

PHOENIX—Picketers outside the capitol building here clapped and shouted May 2 when they heard the news: the ERA was voted out of senate committee. The picketers vowed to return May 5 when the amendment hits the senate floor.

These activities stem from an April 17 ERA rally that drew more than 200 people. Rally speakers reflected the broad support here for ratification. They included leaders of the Arizona AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, NAACP, Arizona Education Association, Arizona Indian Political Caucus, Socialist Workers party, Tucson NOW, Feminists United for Action, and State Sen. Sue Dye.

## Mohawk, Skyhorse hospitalized

By Dave Brown

LOS ANGELES—The savage brutality the government has used against American Indian Movement activists Richard Mohawk and Paul Skyhorse was dramatized here May 2 when Judge Floyd Dodson granted a defense motion that the two men be hospitalized.

They are to be treated for conditions resulting from a February 23 beating in the Ventura County, California, jail. At least six guards beat them so severely that they were taken to the county hospital emergency room at the time.

Since then their medical problems have continued. The defense obtained the services of Dr. Elsi Giorgi, who examined the men and submitted an affidavit to the court.

Dr. Giorgi said that Mohawk may have brain damage and must undergo further tests. Skyhorse has a damaged liver. She also recommended that Skyhorse be taken off the potent pain killer Talwin. Since Talwin is addictive, Skyhorse will experience withdrawal symptoms.

Also, Dr. Giorgi said, both men are suffering from

malnutrition. For two-and-a-half years they have been fed a diet meant only for temporary inmates.

Judge Dodson's ruling means that jury selection proceedings will cease while the activists are undergoing treatment.

Mohawk and Skyhorse are on trial for killing a cab driver two-and-a-half years ago. The government's case is based on testimony of persons arrested at the scene of the crime with blood on their clothes. These persons have been treated with kid gloves in exchange for testimony against the AIM members.

No physical evidence linking Mohawk and Skyhorse to the crime has emerged, and the activists charge they are victims of a politically motivated frame-up.

In other recent developments, Mohawk and Skyhorse, who are acting as their own attorneys, have finally obtained legal help of their own choosing. Leonard Weinglass will head the team of five lawyers that will act as cocounsel for both men. Weinglass was a defense attorney in the Chicago Seven Conspiracy and Pentagon papers cases.



## Issues in Denver school race

# Bilingual-bicultural education:

By Miguel Pendás

DENVER—In the fall of 1975 Anglo pupils became a minority in Denver's public elementary schools. The new majority is made up of minorities: Chicanos, 29.4 percent; Blacks, 18.5 percent; and other nonwhites 2.2 percent.

Each year the percentage of Blacks and Chicanos in the city's schools rises. This fact underscores the main issue in the upcoming school board election: the right of Black and Chicano students to an equal education.

Because even though Blacks and Chicanos comprise the majority, they are still the victims of a discriminatory and racist school system.

What does an equal education mean? It means bilingual-bicultural education. It means desegregation of the schools by busing and any other means necessary. It means affirmative action to hire more minority teachers.

Today, Chicano teachers comprise less than 5 percent of the teaching staff in Denver. That is a disgrace.

But just having Chicano and Black teachers is not enough. We need a curriculum that is grounded in the true history, culture, and language of Chicanos and other minorities. We need special programs to make up for past discrimination in all fields—sciences, social studies, language skills.

### What we've got

What have we got? Colorado's bilingual program is said to be the best in the nation. But a closer look reveals that it is far from adequate.

Only eighteen out of Denver's ninety-two elementary schools have a bilingual program, and this only goes as far as kindergarten. Only three schools

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*Miguel Pendás is a staff correspondent for the Militant and the Socialist Workers party candidate for Denver school board in the May 17 election. This article is based on a talk at a campaign kickoff rally March 26.*

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have bilingual education through the third grade. The director of bilingual education in Denver says the program is needed in at least forty schools.

Despite the description of these programs as "bilingual-bicultural," they are much less than that. A program that only teaches Spanish in kindergarten—or even through the third grade—is not a real bilingual program. It will not produce bilingual individuals, because students will lose their ability in Spanish when it is no longer part of their school curriculum.

### Showalter bill

Carl Showalter, the state legislator who is trying to do away with bilingual education altogether, more accurately describes what we have as a "transitional" program. It is intended to "help" Chicanos who begin school with Spanish as their first language make the "transition" to English.

Then—the program assumes—the Spanish will drop away and the child will become a "real American" who speaks only English.

The intent is not bilingual education. It is to destroy the language and culture of Chicanos.

Showalter and the other bigots who oppose bilingual education think that speaking Spanish at home before starting school is a hereditary disease that must be wiped out.

But it's not Chicanos who are sick. The sick people are the racists who have no respect for the right of other races and nationalities to preserve their cultural heritage.

Bilingual-bicultural education is not a privilege, it is a right. *Es nuestro derecho.*

The racists argue that bilingual education is a luxury enjoyed only by Chicanos and that it is a waste of money. They are equally opposed to biculturalism—Chicanos keeping alive their cultural heritage.

### Racist ignorance

The racists ignore—perhaps intentionally—the fact that Chicano culture and language have as much right to exist on this continent as Anglo culture and language. Chicano culture was here first.

Just because Anglos are a majority, that does not



Militant/Harry Ring

give them the right to suppress the cultural and language rights of a minority. Minorities have rights too.

Then there are people who argue that bilingual-bicultural education is superfluous and a waste of time. Better to teach children Readin', 'Ritin', and 'Rithmetic.

### Learning the three Rs

What these ignoramuses don't understand is that there is more than one way to learn the three Rs. For many Chicanos, the most effective way is bilingually.

A government study issued more than a year ago shows that bilingual education is more than a right—it is a necessity. Up to half of all *Chicanitos* begin school with Spanish as their primary language. The study shows that unless their ability in Spanish is developed, their entire life will be hampered.

Children who do not master their first language thoroughly develop a handicap in understanding and being able to carry out any kind of mental activity. This includes learning the English language, and it also affects math, history, sociology—everything. Language is one of the most basic skills a human being can possess.

It's ironic that some people can look on bilingualism for Chicanos as a waste of time. They look down on a Chicano who speaks Spanish. But when an Anglo studies Spanish and gets a degree in it, this is considered a sign of great intellectual achievement.

Chicanos who are forced into an English-only program when they start school—even though their primary language is Spanish—never learn either language very well. This is one reason why Chicanos suffer the highest functional illiteracy rates in the nation, and why the dropout rate for Chicano students is so high, reaching 50 percent in many high schools.

As adults these Chicanos are relegated to the dirtiest, most unsafe, lowest-paying jobs. They must carry the burden of an English-language deficiency, in addition to simple racist discrimination against Chicanos.

### The Colorado experience

Even the limited experience with bilingual education here in Colorado has shown that this is the case. Teachers and parents have unanimously reported an increase in motivation by students. This has resulted in dramatically higher test scores for Chicanos and higher school attendance.

Yet some people are so opposed to the right of

Chicanos to an equal education that they are already trying to cut back the fledgling bilingual program.

The Showalter bill that would greatly reduce the extent of bilingual programs has passed the state house with bipartisan support. The legislators claim there is no money to educate Chicanos. At the same time they are slashing the bilingual program, however, the state legislature is getting ready to vote a fat pay increase to top state officials—also with bipartisan support. The governor is slated to get a \$20,000 raise.

The Showalter bill passed the house although 90 percent of the people who testified at the hearings on the measure spoke against reducing bilingual programs. Chicanos came from all over the state to support bilingual-bicultural education. Not one teacher or administrator testified for the Showalter bill.

Yet it passed. This shows us how determined the Democratic and Republican politicians are in their drive to take away all the gains that have been made in education by Chicanos and Blacks.

The main target right now is bilingual education. But if the rulers have their way on this, they will only be encouraged to roll back other gains made by minorities.

### Threat to desegregation

For example, there is a desegregation plan in effect in Denver. It is very limited, but it nonetheless represents a gain. But the people who are fighting to get rid of bilingualism are the same bigots who want to put a stop to busing to desegregate the schools. They are the same people who want to institute textbook censorship in the schools. Their ultimate aim is to return to segregated schools.

There are three bigots on the Denver school board who rode into office on a crest of race prejudice as staunch opponents of busing and bilingual education: Naomi Bradford, Robert Crider, and Ted Hackworth. Crider and Hackworth are among my opponents in this election.

They are a minority on the board, but Blacks and Chicanos can take little consolation in that. For a majority on the school board opposed busing and spent more than half-a-million dollars fighting a desegregation plan in the courts.

That is the program of the Republican and Democratic parties that run the school board and legislature.

One of the favorite tricks of school boards and legislatures to cover up for their refusal to meet our

# a privilege or a right?

needs is to try to pit one group against the other. They tell us that if we want busing, then we can't have bilingual education. They tell taxpayers that Black and Chicano demands for busing and bilingual education are a waste of their money. Then they tell us that when the teachers defend their standard of living, they are doing it at the expense of students.

But desegregation need not mean an end to bilingual education. There should be bilingual programs wherever there are Chicanos. By the same token, bilingual education needn't in any way threaten or conflict with busing. Both are needed, and Chicanos should unite with Blacks and others to fight for both.

Anglo parents shouldn't feel that bilingual education or desegregation is a threat to them. They should support the right of Chicanos and Blacks to an equal education. Together we can all fight for more funding to improve the quality of all schools.

But first racist discrimination must go. As long as there is segregation, there is inequality. And Chicanos and Blacks will never stand for it. Never.

## Attacks on teachers

Like other working people, teachers have a right to a decent standard of living. Yet every time teachers ask for a wage increase to keep up with inflation, they are accused by the school board of being "selfish" and "antichildren."

Teachers in this city don't even have the right to collective bargaining or the right to strike.

Whenever the school boards are in a budget crunch, they try to take it out on the teachers. Right now, they are laying off teachers. In addition, teachers who leave their jobs are not being replaced, which is another way of reducing the work force.

And who pays the price for this effort to "save money" for the school board? We all do.

First of all teachers pay by being forced to take on a bigger work load, that is, more pupils per classroom.

This is the classroom equivalent of speedup in the factory: same pay, more work. The pupil/teacher ratio is already thirty-five in Denver. That is too high. But the school board wants to increase it. The teachers won't be the only ones to pay the price. The children will too. More pupils per classroom means less attention per pupil. And we all know that this results in an inferior education.

At the same time there are thousands of teachers out of work. This is absurd. Why can't we hire more teachers, reduce the work load, and improve the quality of education?

## Where to get money

Everybody tells us there's no money for teachers, no money for students. Where does it all go? An item in the papers a few days ago gives us a clue.

The headline said, "Mountain Bell reports \$47.6 million profit in three months." I know where they can get some money to improve the schools. But Democratic and Republican legislators have no intention of touching the sacred profits of giant corporations.

The funding priorities of this school board are warped. In 1977 the board is planning to spend only \$100,000 on bilingual education. The rest of Denver's inadequate budget for bilingual education comes from the federal government (\$700,000) and the state government (\$200,000).

The school board, however, did not hesitate to spend half-a-million dollars fighting a desegregation order in court.

And this year the school board is spending \$50,000 on the salary of the new superintendent of schools, and \$38,000 paying off the unexpired contract of the superintendent they just fired.

We can see where their priorities lie.

An important factor in the educational rights of minorities in Denver has been federal funding and federal court orders against segregation.

## President Carter's role

However, the gains for equal education are under attack nationally too. Carter does not support bilingual-bicultural education or affirmative action. He is against busing. He's not even willing to desegregate his own church. How can we expect him to desegregate the whole country?

Carter wants to spend a billion dollars to build each B-1 bomber. He's asking for a record \$115 billion war budget. At the same time, he's proposing

cutbacks in student loans and work-study programs, which—as we know—are the only way that most Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Blacks can afford to go to college.

Gains in desegregation are just as precarious. The U.S. Supreme Court has shown time and time again that it is no friend of Blacks and other minorities. Attorney General Griffin Bell, the man who is charged with enforcing desegregation, which is the law of the land, openly states that he is against busing! Yet massive busing is the only way to desegregate schools in large cities where Chicanos, Blacks, and other minorities are confined to ghettos.

Most of my opponents in the school board race will seek the endorsement of the Democratic or Republican party. I will not. I am running as the candidate of the Socialist Workers party.

## Where to find support

We socialists are looking for our support elsewhere. We are looking to the Chicano and Black communities, to parents, students, working people, unions, community organizations, and to activists in the struggles for desegregation and bilingual-bicultural education and against the cutbacks.

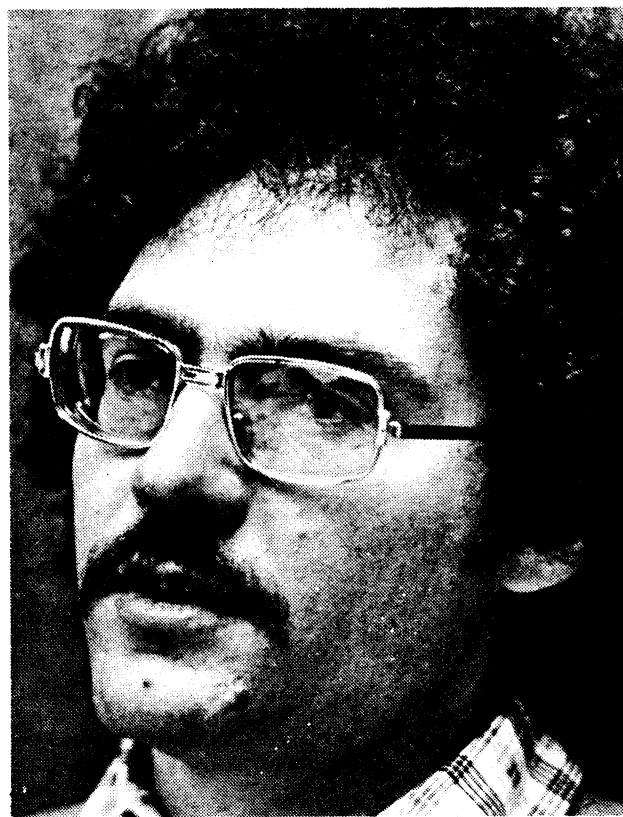
We cannot rely on school boards, courts, or state and federal legislators to improve the quality of education or secure equal educational opportunity for minorities.

The best guarantee that the needs of Chicanos and others will be met is to organize and mobilize where the real commitment is—in the community.

During the hearings on the Showalter bill, dozens of Chicanos mobilized to testify against the racist attack on our rights. That was very good, but it wasn't enough.

There is an overwhelming support for bilingual education in the community. If there is one issue that Chicanos feel strongly about, it is the right to quality and equality in education. What Chicano parents want more than anything else is for their children to have a chance to have a better life than they have been allowed to have.

They don't want their children to have to go through the same endless round of indignities, the humiliation of not knowing English well, of having their culture ridiculed, the missed job opportunities.



MIGUEL PENDAS

Militant/Susan Ellis

There are tens of thousands of Chicanos in Colorado who feel that way. But no one has even asked them to express their feelings. The Chicano legislators who say they are fighting the Showalter bill are doing it with both hands tied behind their backs. They spend their time begging the other legislators to take pity on bilingual education.

We found out how effective this method is when the politicians stabbed bilingual education in the back and approved the Showalter bill in the house.

If the Chicano legislators instead had gone to the community, the outcome might have been different. What we need is a show of force of the Chicano community and its allies during the senate hearings on the Showalter bill. Mass picket lines, rallies, demonstrations outside the capitol. Mass protests! That's the only force they understand.

## How racists segregate Chicanos

DENVER—The Office of Civil Rights has found that the East Otero school district of La Junta, Colorado, used a bilingual program to segregate Chicano students.

A Colorado law makes bilingual-bicultural education mandatory in many Colorado schools. Although the law is limited, it represents a gain for the rights of Chicano students.

Nonetheless, the experience in La Junta shows that Anglo-dominated school boards that oppose the rights of Chicanos will try to tailor the mandatory program to suit white bigots.

Chicano parents in La Junta began to complain when the school board set up a bilingual program that involved pulling children out of their regular classrooms for one hour a day.

The Chicano parents and Chicano Education Project, which is based in Denver, charged that the La Junta program was segregationist.

The Office of Civil Rights has upheld the claims of the Chicano parents, noting that the school district could have developed a bilingual program in line with the state guidelines "without significant isolation of national origin minority students."

Furthermore, the agency stated, the bilingual program was deliberately designed to promote segregation. It was no accident. The East Otero Board of Education recognized that the program "was not the most effective means of providing the service," the agency said, but chose it because of "parental pressure from some members of the white community who did not wish their children to be exposed to or to participate in the program."

The Civil Rights Office also charged that the district was placing many Chicanos in the "Significantly Limited Intellectual Functioning" program, one designed for retarded children.

The reason this happened is that the Chicanos were not being tested in their native language, Spanish, even though this is specifically required by law. None of the psychologists testing the children are bilingual.

If anyone needs to be placed in a Significantly Limited Intellectual Functioning program, it should be the East Otero Board of Education.

The school system also is not hiring enough Chicano teachers. The civil rights agency termed the district's 13.4 percent "minority" faculty "woefully inadequate when viewed in light of a 42.2 percent minority student body."

The story of attempts to segregate Chicanos in La Junta seems to be the story of Chicanos everywhere.

A recent study by the Catholic University Law School shows that Latinos in major American school systems, like Blacks, are more segregated than ever.

"Intensely segregated schools with 90 percent or more minority enrollment held 46 percent of Los Angeles Latino pupils in 1974," the report stated.

"Between 1970 and 1974," it continued, "the numbers of Hispanic children attending intensely segregated schools grew from 14 percent to 31 percent in Chicago, and from 21 percent to 40 percent in Houston."

Houston's Hispanic population, of course, is just about all Chicano. In Chicago there are about as many Puerto Ricans as Chicanos.

Segregation is more advanced than those figures indicate because the data only go up to 1975, and it is known that the trend toward segregation has increased since then.

In Albuquerque 70 percent of Chicano pupils and in Denver 68 percent of Latino pupils are in schools 50 percent or more minority. —M.P.



# Southern labor: the coming

By Frank Lovell

(last of a series)

In the early days of the CIO the auto workers changed everything when they called their sit-down strikes and occupied the auto plants. They forced the open-shop General Motors Corporation to sign a union contract. They did it without the help of the National Labor Relations Board, and they did it without any dues checkoff.

They brought the CIO to life, and did more to nurture it than all the clever negotiations of John L. Lewis with the moguls of the steel industry and all his high-level conferences with Roosevelt combined.

It was the great mass of unorganized industrial workers in action against the employers that built the CIO, not the stratagems of top union officials. And so it will be again. If the industrial South is organized it will be the workers there who will do it.



To organize the South...

Changes in the economy, in the composition of the work force, and in attitudes of workers in the open-shop South have combined to improve the prospects for union action there.

More heavy industries are shifting to southern states. These include auto assembly and parts manufacturing, steel fabrication, tire manufacturing and other rubber production, plastics, electrical equipment manufacturing, and more.

As these plants open in the South, older facilities in the North are closed. In some instances a portion of the northern work force follows the industry. It is also common to find workers who have migrated North; worked under union conditions in auto plants or other organized industries, and returned to the South. They are often the strongest supporters of union organizing drives. They know the difference.

There is a greater mobility of workers now than ever before. Despite the tighter job market, workers are not hesitant to pull up stakes and move away.

The big change is among the young people entering the labor market, a much higher percentage of them are Blacks and other minorities, and women. This is especially true of the textile industry, but it is noticeable in all others throughout the South.

## Blacks in industry

The textile union reports that Blacks in the industry have increased from less than 1 percent in 1964 to 13.1 percent in 1971 and about 18 percent in 1975.

"This trend is expected to continue to increase," says the report, "due to the availability of unemployed Blacks in the Southern textile centers. The Southern Black percentage is estimated to be 25% and many plants in the Carolinas are predominantly Black."

Bruce Raynor, an experienced organizer and now an official of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, says in his report that "this development has helped union organizing. Most of the major organizing victories in the past five years have depended heavily on overwhelming Black support in combination with a minority of the White votes."

Raynor says that "at the present time a large percentage of Black workers is nearly enough to qualify a particular mill as an organizing target."

Why?

"Black workers do not have the mill village psychology with its 'faith' in the good will of the employer."

Raynor quotes a Black textile worker at Fieldcrest Mills in Columbus, Georgia: "We know that the bossman's not going to do anything for us—the White folks thinks he's their friend. Black people know that's wrong."

White workers are learning that the bossman is not their friend any more, and the young whites doubt that he ever was. Danny Blackwell was interviewed on TV about workers at J.P. Stevens. "The majority of the older whites are more afraid to stand up for their rights . . . afraid if they do lose their job, they won't be able to find another one," he

said. "And the younger whites, they're not as much afraid . . . they're young and they can always look for another job."

## Allies in struggle

The changing composition and renewed militancy of southern workers accounts for the recent victory of the United Auto Workers union at the GM Guide Lamp Division plant in Monroe, Louisiana. In turn, such victories drive home to more workers the benefits of organization—significantly higher wages, more dignity on the job, a better life all around—and win wider support for unionism.

The emergence of fresh fighters for the union cause reawakens and inspires the veterans of years of struggle and defeat. Bruce Raynor says there is a core of textile workers who have been through many organizing drives and believe in unionism. "These men and women identify themselves immediately to any union organizer and they are willing to put their jobs on the line at any time."

Raynor has noticed that workers never give up. They have little choice. He quotes a Black worker at a J.P. Stevens plant after an election defeat: "Don't worry, we gonna get there somehow."

The survival of unions in the North is at stake, as the rubber and electrical unions learned during their 1976 contract negotiations. The electrical unions were unable to force General Electric to grant anything beyond extension of the old contract, with minor improvements in a cost-of-living provision, because GE plants in the South are unorganized. The unions were afraid to risk a strike on this account.

The United Rubber Workers struck the rubber industry for four months but could not stop production. The tire and rubber companies were able to drag out the strike and bleed the workers because rubber plants in the South are unorganized.

A resurgent movement of southern workers will find allies among activists all over the country who recognize this deadly impasse and seek to defend and revitalize the industrial unions. Steelworkers Fight Back in the United Steelworkers of America is the most advanced example so far, but there will be more.

## Boycott potential

The boycott of Stevens products is different from other recent boycotts. These were called during strike actions or in support of active organizing efforts.

They include the 1969-70 boycott of General Electric products during the long winter strike that finally forced that company to negotiate a standard contract with all the unions involved; the lettuce, grapes, and wine boycotts that helped keep the United Farm Workers alive when it came under merciless attack from the California growers and the Teamsters union; and the boycott of Farah pants that forced that Texas-based manufacturer to sign with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers to end a long and bitterly fought strike.

Stevens products are not immediately identifiable to consumers as was the case in these previous boycotts. Nor are any of the Stevens plants on strike. Organizing activity consists mainly of routine preparations for NLRB elections.

Despite these limitations, this boycott will scandalize J.P. Stevens & Company, and it will serve to expose social degradation and political corruption in the low-wage South where state "right to work" laws hamper union organization.

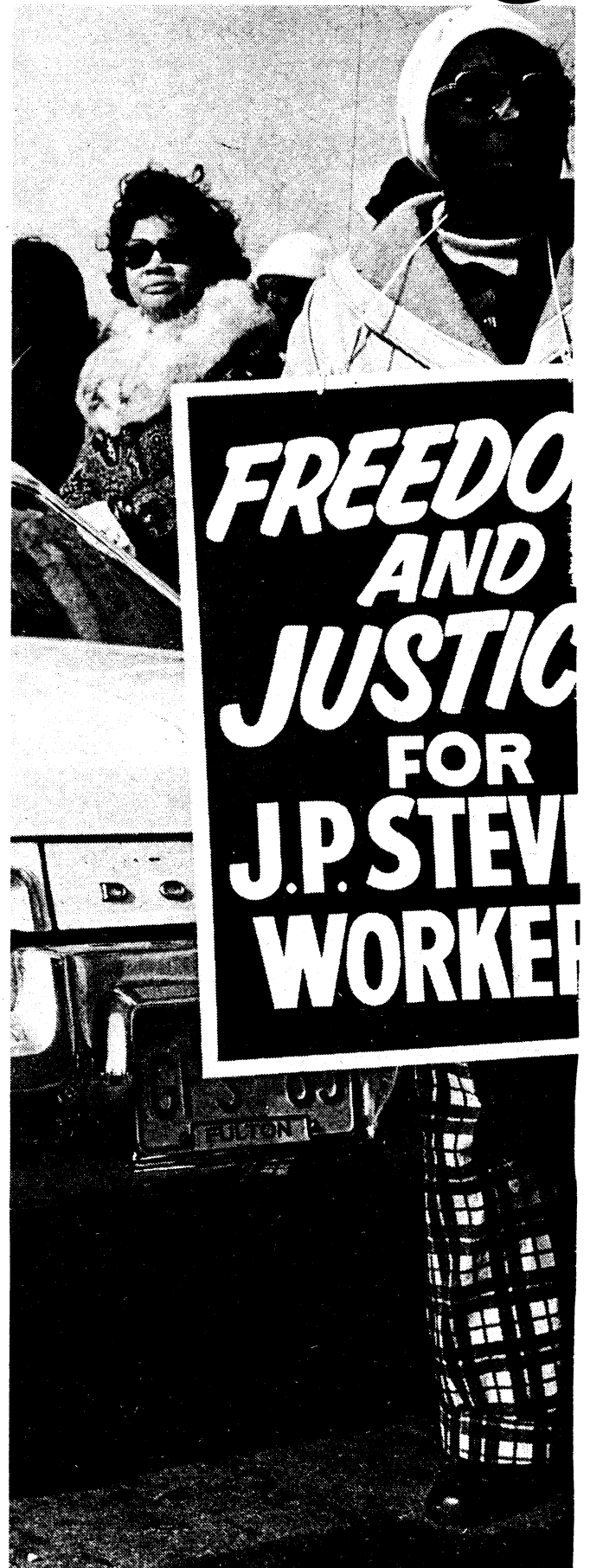
The AFL-CIO is pressing the case against Stevens in the federal courts, in Congress, and in the public arena of political debate. In some of its widely distributed fact sheets on the crimes of J.P. Stevens the ACTWU suggests that the federal government ought to support the boycott, without making any such demand upon the Carter administration.

In a reference to "the insidious power of J.P. Stevens," the union says: "In spite of all these law violations, the Defense Department of the United States continues to give millions of dollars worth of business to J.P. Stevens—\$14.2 million in fiscal 1975 alone."

Top officials of the AFL-CIO hope that all their problems can be resolved by favorable congressional action, their eternal hope.

The Stevens boycott is felt far beyond the halls of Congress. Its greatest effect many be in the unorganized mills and mines and factories of the South.

The textile workers are encouraged by the boycott. They are aware of the congressional hearings where the crimes of J.P. Stevens are listed.



They are taking a new measure of the politicians who serve J.P. Stevens. They are coming to know for the first time how corrupt the big corporations are, and how hypocritical their officials and defenders have been.

Textile workers are also beginning to look at themselves differently, with a new sense of confidence and self-respect. All this is very close to the surface because of the economic and social changes of the past quarter century.

The J.P. Stevens boycott, which seems to textile workers in the South to be a kind of new national awakening to the injustices they have suffered for so long, can be what will set off the long-delayed explosion of the southern industrial working class that is undreamed of by the organizers of the boycott.

The workers are becoming impatient, losing some of their old fears. Some are unwilling to curb their outrage at the treatment they get from the employers, the runaround from the NLRB and other government agencies, and the double-talk from the capitalist politicians.

One frustrated Stevens worker in Roanoke Rapids is reported to have said, "The hell with the law. Let's get out there at the plant gates with baseball bats, and we'll decide whether we get a contract or not."

This comes from the feeling—shared by a large part of the 700,000 mill workers and many more in other industries in the South—that they have been cheated, that the law is not on their side, and that those who make and manipulate the laws are in collusion with the employers.





Militant/Sid Fine

These workers have not yet discovered the way nor developed the leaders to protect themselves from the injustices of the unbridled capitalist system. They are the victims of the same system that was squeezing—in much the same way—the inorganized industrial workers in the 1930s.

The great textile strike of 1934 was part of the working-class resurgence that gave rise to the CIO movement. The southern textile workers were ricked by the Roosevelt administration and then lubbed back into submission by the state police and other goons of the mill owners.

But the idea that the workers will sometime find a way to protect themselves and win back what rightfully belongs to them was never killed. This is the idea that inspired the auto workers in Flint, Michigan, forty years ago. It is the idea that made the sit-down strikes possible.

This same idea is beginning to find new forms of expression in the industries of the South today. The coming resurgence of working people will solve some of the problems that have hounded and weakened the union movement since the early days of the CIO.

The new resurgence will sweep before it all the obstacles that now stand in the way, including the Democratic party, which is the most formidable obstacle of all and the one most directly and effectively deployed by the rulers of this country.

It will be ironic if the Stevens boycott, organized by staunch defenders of the Democratic party, turns out to be the means of opening the floodgates of massive class-struggle actions in the South.

## Thousands protest nuclear power danger

By Arnold Weissberg

SEABROOK, N.H.—While police arrested 1,400 demonstrators who sat in at the site of a planned nuclear power plant here May 1, another 1,300 people expressed their opposition to the reactors at a rally in a nearby state park.

The actions were the largest antinuclear protests in the United States to date. Demonstrations in Western Europe in recent years have drawn as many as 50,000 people.

The New Hampshire protests were especially significant in light of President Carter's proposal—part of his energy package—to build seventy more light-water nuclear plants like the one planned for Seabrook.

Seabrook has become an important focus of opposition to unsafe nuclear power development. "The entire worldwide antinuclear movement is watching Seabrook today," said Cathy Wolff, spokesperson for the Clamshell Alliance, which organized the sit-in.

On Saturday, April 30, 2,000 marchers—loaded down with camping gear, food, and water—converged on the coastline site of the Seabrook reactors. The youthful crowd was in high spirits. A popular chant was a simple "No nukes!"

Declaring their intention to occupy the site until construction was permanently halted, the protesters set up tents, an infirmary, and food distribution on a dusty, windswept parking lot.

The rows between the tents were given names. One was called "Karen Silkwood Memorial Drive," a tribute to a worker at an Oklahoma atomic fuel plant who died in a mysterious auto accident after announcing her intention to make public numerous plant safety violations.

There was no police interference with the occupation.

But by Sunday afternoon, the atmosphere had become a bit tense, perhaps because of the presence of Gov. Meldrim Thomson. Thomson is an extreme right-winger and vehement nuclear advocate.

Thomson brought in hundreds of New Hampshire state cops and several dozen national guardsmen. In addition, he borrowed cops from four neighboring states.

At about 3:00 p.m. Sunday, the head of the state police informed sit-in participants that they were trespassing on land owned by the Public Service Company. The PSC is a private utility that owns 50 percent of the Seabrook plant.

His announcement was greeted with cheers.

A half-hour later, five school buses loaded with cops pulled up and began the arrests.

The demonstrators had already packed up their gear and most walked with it to the buses. A few passively resisted and were dragged or carried.

Several reporters were also arrested and charged.

The remaining demonstrators cheered as each loaded bus drove off.

Nearly all of the 1,400 arrested refused bail and were still being held as the *Militant* went to press. They sought release on their own recognizance.

The rally at the state park, organized by the Seacoast Anti-Pollution League and other groups, heard several representatives of the antinuclear movement. The featured speaker was Dr. Helen Caldicott, an Australian pediatrician who has been a leader in the fight to end uranium mining in that country.

Caldicott pointed out that the nuclear issue "doesn't involve just Seabrook—it involves the whole world."

Explaining the medical effects of radioactivity, Dr. Caldicott noted that it is "absurd to spend money seeking a cure for leukemia . . . and then invest billions in an industry that propagates it."

She added, "Nuclear power is thalidomide forever."

Even though Seabrook's residents have twice voted against the reactors, construction began last August. Currently only minimal construction work is permitted while the federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) studies the plant's planned cooling system. If the EPA rejects the plan, the reactors may be abandoned.

There are many compelling arguments against building the reactors. The cooling system is one.

The system will do irreparable damage to adjacent salt marshes. The marshes are an

important Atlantic coast breeding ground for fish and other marine life.

Light-water reactors—as those planned for Seabrook are called—are notoriously accident-prone. A Florida reactor similar to Seabrook's—and also built by Westinghouse—will be idle for more than a year while leaks are fixed. Repairs will cost more than twice as much as the original plant.

Several accidents at other reactors have had near-disastrous consequences. There is no reason to believe the Seabrook plant will be any safer.

In addition, construction costs have skyrocketed. Now carrying an estimated \$2.6 billion price tag, the reactors had originally been tabbed at about one-third that figure.

Consumers will have to foot the bill. The Public Service Company has already applied for a 17 percent rate hike to cover increased construction costs.

The size of the two demonstrations is a significant dissent from Carter's plans for greater reliance on nuclear power.

The demonstrations were an important step forward in mobilizing the growing sentiment against nuclear power. As Hattie McCutcheon, Socialist Workers party candidate for Boston School Committee, put it in a statement distributed at the May 1 rally, "Human rights must come before profits and greed."



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Marching to occupy Seabrook reactor site



Intercontinental Press/Fred Murphy

May 1 antinuclear rally



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Cops arrest sit-in participant

# 'Nation' on disclosure & harassment

The following editorial, headlined 'Disclosure and Harassment,' appeared in the April 30 issue of 'Nation' magazine, a nationwide liberal weekly.

In the post-Watergate climate, to argue against tough laws on disclosure of political campaign contributions might seem like an attack on the American Way itself. Campaign corruption has been demonstrated ad nauseam, and such laws as the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 appear



designed to stop it. Yet an argument—and a good one—against such laws is being made, and the controversy is yielding yet another glimpse of the government's attempts to silence any citizens who envision radical alterations in the system.

The Socialist Workers Party are in the process of filing papers before the Federal Election Commission seeking to have the 1971 Campaign Act declared unconstitutional as applied to parties, such as the SWP, that face government harassment. The action is part of a suit originally filed in 1974 by the ACLU on the SWP's behalf. The plaintiffs contend that disclosure of the names and addresses of contributors to the party would subject them to the hostile attentions of assorted gumshoes and provocateurs, right-wing fanatics and unfriendly employers, and is therefore a violation of their rights of privacy, association and free speech.

Thus far the FEC has refused to grant an exemption—a position hard to explain, since the Supreme Court ruled in 1976 (*Buckley v. Valeo*) that small parties which could demonstrate the probability of harassment should be exempt. "Minor parties must be allowed sufficient flexibility in the proof of injury to assure a fair consideration of their claim," stated the Court. "The proof may include, for example, specific evidence of past or present harassment of members. . . ." Given the government's forty-year

history of attempts to hound the SWP out of existence, the Supreme Court might have had the party in mind.

Last January a three-judge court in Washington gave the FEC six months to construct a "full factual record" of official persecution of the SWP. It is hard to imagine why, if anyone on the commission reads the newspapers, it would take six months, since the details of the FBI's secret war on the SWP are now a matter of public record. (In the past sixteen years, by the bureau's own admission, 1,600 informers, including 316 SWP members, have been used to spy on a party of some 2,500.) And there is no reason to believe, in light of the FBI's past untruthful claims, that the SWP has ceased to be a target of federal spooks.

No doubt the FEC's stonewalling is caused partly by its reluctance to admit that the FBI cannot be trusted to keep its hands clean. But more unsettling motives can be imputed to

the government: the desire to know who the party's supporters are, and the wish to make life as thorny as possible for radicals. On both the state and federal levels, the law discriminates against groups such as the SWP, setting them apart from the two major parties by making it hard for them to get on the ballot, receive subsidies, etc. But as regards campaign disclosure the FEC chastely insists that all parties are alike. That assertion is absurd; the SWP raises hardly enough money in a campaign to corrupt a dogcatcher. So the government's contrasting positions amount to a coherent policy aimed at crippling dissent.

It is time for a change in both aspects of that policy. Small parties should be treated with scrupulous equality when it comes to vote-gathering possibilities; and for reasons a child could understand, they should be viewed as special cases when it comes to privacy.

## Must SWP give feds a target list?

By Lucy Burton

A federal court in Washington, D.C., has barred the Federal Elections Commission from taking any legal action against Socialist Workers campaign committees for withholding names and addresses of their financial contributors, pending a final court ruling on the socialists' legal challenge to such disclosure.

The court also ordered the FEC to assemble the facts surrounding harassment of the Socialist Workers party.

The order was issued as part of an ongoing legal fight by Socialist Workers campaign committees with the support of the American Civil Liberties Union. The suit asks that federal election laws requiring submission of contributors' names and addresses be declared unconstitutional as applied to the socialists.

Currently, all political campaign committees must turn over to the FEC the names and addresses of contributors of \$100 or more. Socialist Workers campaign committees have been battling these requirements in court.

When the suit was filed in 1974, the ACLU wrote: "The Government cannot on the one hand assert the right to bug, wiretap, interrogate, fire from government employment

and otherwise harass supporters of the Socialist Workers Party, and on the other hand require that the Socialist Workers campaign committees turn over to the Government the names, addresses and places of employment of additional targets for such treatment.

"It seems obvious that the Government cannot have it both ways."

The financial disclosure laws are part of a package of campaign "reform" laws passed in the wake of the Vietnam War and Watergate. Congress hoped to convince the American people that the Democratic and Republican parties could be "cleaned up."

In 1975 Eugene McCarthy, a former U.S. senator and independent presidential candidate, and James Buckley, at that time a U.S. senator from New York, filed a broad challenge to the constitutionality of these "reforms." In January 1976 the U.S. Supreme Court rejected the McCarthy-Buckley arguments and upheld the laws, with one significant exception.

"Minor parties," the Supreme Court wrote, "must be allowed sufficient flexibility in the proof of injury to assure a fair consideration of their claim. The evidence offered need

show only a reasonable probability that the compelled disclosure of a party's contributors' names will subject them to threats, harassment or reprisals from either government officials or private parties. The proof may include, for example, specific evidence of past or present harassment of members due to their associational ties, or of harassment directed against the organization itself. A pattern of threats or specific manifestations of public hostility may be sufficient."

In early May attorneys for Socialist Workers campaign committees will submit to the FEC voluminous evidence of harassment and disruption aimed at Socialist Workers party members and supporters.

Most of the evidence comes from FBI and CIA files released as a result of a \$40 million suit filed against twelve government agencies by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance.

"We have no reason to believe that the U.S. government has stopped trying to destroy the SWP," said Stacey Seigle, treasurer of the Socialist Workers national campaign committee. "We simply cannot be put in the position of handing over names of contributors that the FBI can use as a convenient 'enemies list.'"

## FBI effort to silence CP leader revealed

By Diane Wang

"The FBI's identity cannot in any way be connected with the operation." Famous last words.

An FBI agent wrote those words fifteen years ago at the end of a memo approving a disruption plot against Herbert Aptheker, a leader of the Communist party.

Now, that memo has been made public. The Department of Justice gave Aptheker a series of documents from the FBI's Cointelpro operations.

The 1962 disruption was both approved and carried out. A speaking engagement for Aptheker in Seattle was interrupted when a large group in his audience began hissing, shouting, and singing "patriotic songs."

The FBI files show that this right-wing gang had been organized by the FBI. Seattle agents got in touch with their contact in the Washington State American Legion "to arrange to have a group of responsible citizens attend Aptheker's meeting to expose his communist propaganda."

This tactic of using thugs to do the FBI's dirty work was not a new one. The 1962 memo refers to work done at "a similar meeting." It describes its right-wing contact as someone with "sound judgment, discreet [deletion] can be counted on not to involve the Bureau in any way in this activity."

Aptheker commented in the CP's *Daily World*, "Let it be understood that this is but a fraction of the disgusting 'counter-intelligence' work of the so-called Department of Justice against just one Communist in the United States."

The U.S. Senate investigation into intelligence agencies documented more than 2,000 approved Cointelpro actions, many aimed at the CP. Other operations targeted the Socialist Workers party, Black groups, and anti-Vietnam War activists.

The FBI labeled many groups—from labor organizations to the NAACP—"communist infiltrated" to justify operations against them too. As of 1973 it was estimated that the FBI had 6,426,813 "intelligence and evaluation investigation" files.

Evidence of other FBI dirty tricks is being exposed through lawsuits against the government, such as those filed by the Socialist Workers party, the Black Panther party, and Robert and Michael Meeropol, sons of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.



HERBERT APTHEKER



# Boston benefit backs political rights

By Arthur Hughes

More than eighty Boston civil libertarians attended a "Salute to the Bill of Rights" in support of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) April 27. The event was a benefit for the Socialist Workers party lawsuit against the FBI and CIA.

The benefit was held at the Cambridge home of Phyllis Cox. The Cox residence has long been a gathering place for supporters of antiwar, antiracist, civil libertarian, and other causes.

Among the hosts were Harvard law professors Vern Countryman, Charles Nesson, and Alan Dershowitz; historian Henry Steele Commager; linguist Noam Chomsky; attorney Nancy Gertner; Nobel laureates Salvador Luria, Kenneth Arrow, and George Wald; Dr. Kenneth Edelin; and James Hamilton, president of the Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union.

The gathering paid tribute to Leonard Boudin, the distinguished civil liberties attorney and chief counsel in the SWP suit. Boudin defended Benjamin Spock and Daniel Ellsberg. In 1970-71 he was Visiting Professor from Practice at the Harvard Law School.

Vern Countryman, a longtime fighter against government repression, introduced Boudin to the gathering.

He noted that Boudin has stood out as a defender of the victims of political frame-ups for more than thirty years.

Boudin pointed out that the socialists' suit was the "unusual first action by a political party" in defense of the political rights of all victims of government intimidation.

The lawsuit, Boudin said, has revealed illegal government activities and played an important role in showing how the government really works.

He pointed out that the suit has been of tremendous importance in inspiring other victims to launch similar efforts, including former members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Raza Unida party, and the Black Panther party.

The SWP suit is also breaking new ground in fighting to open up the massive CIA files and the files of government informers. "The use of informers," Boudin said, "is the antithesis of democracy. It is an attempt to manipulate the very activities of the victims of government harassment."

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the PRDF, appealed for the funds necessary to finance the suit. "While the Justice Department has spent \$800,000 and is requesting an additional \$4.8 million appropriation to pay for the Watergate criminals'



LEONARD BOUDIN

Militant/Harry Ring

defense, we have to rely on defenders of civil liberties like yourselves to finance the legal action of those seeking justice," he told the gathering. The benefit raised several thousand dollars to support the PRDF's efforts.

Among those present at the Cox home were Dr. Ewart Gunier, professor in the Harvard Afro-American studies department; Maceo Dixon, Boston SWP organizer; and Eric Van Loon, attorney in the Boston

NAACP's school desegregation suit.

Prior to the reception, the Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union membership newsletter, the *Docket*, printed an article featuring the event. It described the SWP action as "the most successful suit thus far in exposing FBI COINTELPRO operations, burglaries and similar crimes."

"The FBI's own documents," the article said, "prove that SWP members were spied upon, had their mail covered, phones tapped and meetings bugged. They became the victims of government sponsored pranks and dirty tricks, some quite deadly. . . ."

"Plaintiffs are currently challenging FBI and CIA attempts to withhold information from the discovery process on 'security' and 'privilege' grounds. Decisions on these matters, as well as the progress of the suit as a whole, will be precedent-setters for all subsequent litigation and other challenges to these agencies."

Other hosts of the successful benefit were attorneys Edward Barshak, Gerald Berlin, Margaret Burnham, and William Homans; Harvard professors Stanley Hoffman, Ruth Hubbard, and Bernard Lown; Abram Chayes, former U.S. solicitor general; Robert Seidman, Boston University law professor; and Dr. Peter Reich.

## Who's in the news?—socialists vs. FBI

By Diane Wang

Newspapers and radio and TV newscasters took note April 6 when the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance in several cities released documents about six FBI Cointelpro plots. The socialists obtained the documents through their \$40 million lawsuit against government harassment.

"Catholics in S.A. were FBI targets" was the headline splashed across the front page of the *San Antonio Express* April 6. The article described how the FBI had plotted to stir up a protest from Catholics in San Antonio as a tool to stop an anti-Vietnam War conference at the Catholic University in Washington, D.C.

A *Los Angeles Times* editorial expressed outrage at the FBI scheme to label the conference "clearly against U.S. public interest," and disrupt it.

"In this country," said the editorial, "under the Constitution, the President of the United States, let alone a police agency, cannot pass official judgment on an assembly of free citizens."

"Subversive is a word that has been grossly abused," concluded the editorial, "but in this situation it applies precisely to the FBI action."

On April 7 the *San Antonio Express* carried another story reporting a boast in FBI files that "through counterintelligence efforts San Antonio has been able to minimize and perhaps stifle attempts by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) to establish a foothold at SAC [San Antonio College]."

*Express* reporters asked William Waterman, dean of student affairs at the college, about the FBI's claim. According to the newspaper, Waterman answered: "We didn't invite the FBI in for surveillance purposes, although I am sure we had FBI agents on campus."

"Waterman did acknowledge, however, that government agencies, including the FBI, did contact SAC officials for information on students during the period of student protest," the *Express* said.

The newspaper also quoted YSA

chapter organizer Alan Julian. "We believe SAC has secret files on dissident students and organizations concerning their political activity," Julian said. "We want SAC officials to open their files for everyone to see."

The release of FBI files also sparked a demand to see secret political records at Arizona State University (ASU) near Phoenix.

SWP and YSA members there released FBI memoranda showing that in 1969 the Phoenix bureau had distributed information on radical groups to the Arizona Board of Regents, Arizona State University administration, Special Investigations Unit of the local police department, and to two Arizona newspapers.

Militant correspondent Dan Fein reports that four TV stations, three newspapers, and two radio stations attended and reported the SWP and YSA news conference in Phoenix.

The *State Press* at ASU questioned campus officials about the FBI files and obtained an admission that the regents office keeps a file on campus radical groups.

"As a result of the release of FBI files concerning radical political groups," said the campus paper, "Arizona student leaders have reiterated their request for information that may be in the possession of University officials."

Houston socialists released documents from what the FBI admitted was a 1972 Cointelpro-type operation. Government files showed that FBI agents had set up a raid on an SWP fund-raising party.

The *Houston Post* reported on the news conference called by the SWP and YSA. Present was SWP member David Rossi who had been arrested in the raid.

"Rossi . . . had protested at the time that the arrests represented 'selective harassment' by Houston police and Texas Alcoholic Beverage Commission agents. Then-gubernatorial candidate Debby Leonard of the SWP called the charges 'trumped up.'"

"Now, five years later," said Rossi

### FBI spells out aim of '72 Houston raid on Socialist group

BY CRAIG HENSE  
Chronicle Washington Bureau  
Washington—The raid on a Socialist Workers party (SWP) 1972 fund-raising event in Houston has been classified by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) as part of its campaign to disrupt the SWP.

The raid resulted in some arrests on charges of disorderly conduct, but most of which were later dropped.

The SWP claimed at the time of the raid that the FBI was using the event to disrupt the SWP's efforts to raise money for its anti-war activities.

The SWP said the raid was part of a larger campaign to disrupt the SWP's efforts to raise money for its anti-war activities.

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### Subversives in the FBI

Files disclosed from the FBI in a lawsuit reveal that the bureau, through covert activity, tried to force the cancellation of an antiwar conference in 1971 at Catholic University in Washington, D.C.

The plan of disruption, which was carried out under the FBI's counterintelligence program (Cointelpro), was a simple one. It called for a lawless invasion by the country's chief law-enforcement agency of the constitutional right of Americans to assemble in a peaceable protest of government action.

An FBI memorandum noted that the university received financial support from Catholics in the United States and that a secret FBI campaign might bring pressure on the university to cancel the conference. As a result, the FBI quartered in Washington ordered its agent Antonio, Tex., to feed information about the event to officials of the Archdiocese of San Antonio, according to the FBI, "strongly

### Advisers admit file on radicals

More about

"We know all the people in SDS and had a good rapport. We respected their rights and they knew that and trusted us."

John Hodgway, director of Anti-Communist Activities, said he had been told by FBI advisers that the SWP was a "subversive organization."

He said he had been told by FBI advisers that the SWP was a "subversive organization."

### Has FBI taught us a lesson?

It was quite coincidentally, we were told last Friday. The date was Sunday, April 17, 1977. The place was New York City. The event was the 11th annual anti-Vietnam War demonstration, called the Spring Mobilization. A New Yorker magazine had to say, "Are There?"

### Catholics in S.A. were FBI targets

WASHINGTON—The FBI planned to create a protest from Catholics in San Antonio in 1971 as a means of stopping an anti-war meeting at the Catholic University of America.

in a prepared statement, "we have forced out of the secret files of the FBI proof that Debby Leonard's charge was accurate."

"We maintain that the same kind of activities are continuing today," Rossi added.

Fourteen reporters attended the SWP and YSA news conference in San Diego, according to *Militant* correspondent Rich Lesnik.

Mark Schneider, county chairperson of the SWP, stressed the collaboration between the FBI and county police documented in the newly released files. Schneider challenged a recent city council report absolving the cops of any wrongdoing between 1968 and 1975.

Schneider quoted the San Diego FBI memo: "Through close cooperation with local law enforcement intelligence agencies, local law enforcement is kept advised of planned activities of these groups and many acts contemplated by them can thus be stopped."

Schneider suggested the memo was referring to activities such as the 1973 arrest of Salm Kolis, SWP candidate for city council at the time. Kolis was framed on a charge of using the wrong address on an election document.

The city attorney estimated that twenty-two of twenty-nine candidates violated the election code. Yet only Kolis, who was innocent, was prosecuted.

During Kolis's trial, it was revealed

that an FBI informer had participated in defense strategy meetings.

As reported in the April 22 *Militant*, Hattie McCutcheon released FBI files during a press conference where she announced her socialist campaign for Boston School Committee.

The files showed that the FBI had manipulated the press to get red-baiting attacks on the anti-Vietnam War movement into local newspapers and on television.

The *Boston Globe*, the *Phoenix*, and the *Real Paper* all reported on the press conference. Gordon Hall—named in the government files as an FBI mouthpiece—devoted his Saturday night radio talk show in Boston to defending his work with the FBI.

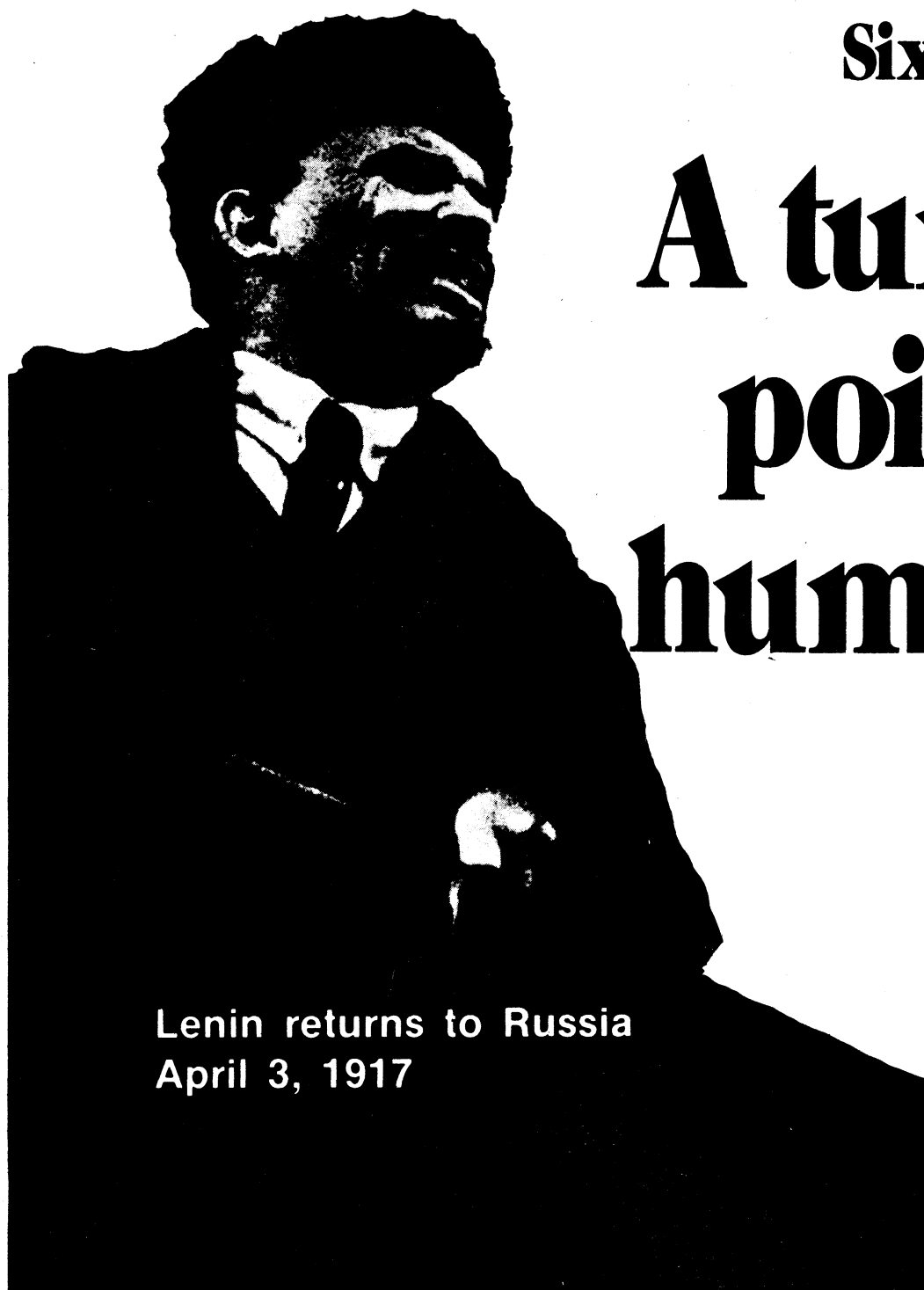
Dave O'Brian, a columnist for the *Boston Herald American*, wrote:

"One hopes the bitter lessons we've since learned about our government and its cloak-and-dagger operations will make it less likely for journalists in the future to be so easily taken in by any such FBI attempt to discredit a political attitude."

" . . . Whatever one might think of the politics of the SWP, it's a legal party that advances its beliefs through legitimate political organizing and the electoral process. Its activities do not include illegality, violence, or incitement to riot."

"And, sadly, the same cannot be said of the FBI."





Lenin returns to Russia  
April 3, 1917

Sixty years ago

# A turning point for humanity

By Tim Wohlforth

Sixty years ago last month—on April 3, 1917—Lenin arrived in revolutionary St. Petersburg at the Finland station. The arrival of this single individual would change the course of the Russian revolution and of humanity itself.

Lenin arrived in Russia at a critical time. One month had passed since the tsar had abdicated the throne. The mass revolutionary soviets—that is, councils—were the main power in Russia. The American journalist Lincoln Steffens described what these councils looked like—and smelled like:

"The first time I went to the immense hall where the first Soviet met I was halted, as by a blow, by the stink of the mob inside, and I could see the steam rising, as from a herd of cattle, over those sweating, debating delegates. They lived there. Once inside they stayed inside. They cooked and they ate there, and you saw men sleeping in corners and around the edges of the hall. No hours were kept. When delegates were tired, they lay down, leaving the majority to carry on; when they were rested, they woke to keep the endless, uninterrupted debate going. But they did come to conclusions, that mob of Man, and their conclusions were a credit to the species.

"The first law passed by that representative, stinking mass put them ahead of our clean, civilized leading nations. It was against capital punishment. As if Man in the natural state wished not to kill. And the second law was against war and empire: the Russian people should never conquer and govern any other people."

The consciousness of the masses, however, was behind events, and the consciousness of the leadership was far behind that of the masses.

The Soviets—led by the Mensheviks (right-wing socialists) and the Social Revolutionaries (a populist-type peasant party)—had handed power to a provisional government headed by liberal capitalists.

The provisional government was committed to preserving capitalism. This policy threatened even the democratic aims of the revolution. And Russia's participation in the imperialist war continued.

The Mensheviks gave wholehearted support to this government on the grounds that the revolution was a democratic one and could not go beyond the bounds of capitalism. They urged a continuation of the hated war on the grounds that it was now in defense of the revolution.

To make matters worse, the Bolsheviks held to the basic positions of the Mensheviks, though they maintained a position a bit to the left. Stalin was among the Bolsheviks who adhered to this essentially Menshevik stance.

Lenin thought differently, and he expressed his thoughts bluntly and sharply from the very moment of his arrival at the Finland station. His future ally in this struggle, Leon Trotsky, was not yet a member of the Bolshevik party and would not arrive in Russia until May. On April 3 Lenin was politically a completely isolated individual.

## Lenin's welcome

The scene at the Finland station was tumultuous. Thousands awaited Lenin's arrival. Detachments from various

soldiers' soviets were present in full uniform. Red flags were draped everywhere; and revolutionary banners hung all around the train station. Armored cars—a favorite vehicle in those days—lined up in front of the station, while the Bolsheviks had found a searchlight somewhere to give added drama to their leader's arrival.

The scene was a triumph of Bolshevik organizational skill. This quality would prove decisive in the next period.

Lenin did not know quite what to expect on his arrival. He was prepared to be taken straight to prison. He had no faith in the democratic pretensions of the provisional government.

As he stepped off the train, one delegation of well-wishers pressed into his hands a small bouquet of flowers. How incongruous this bouquet appeared as he sternly walked into the waiting room of the train station to be formally met by a delegation representing the executive committee of the St. Petersburg Soviet.

Cheidze, a Menshevik, delivered a little speech welcoming Lenin to the democratic camp and urging him to close ranks with his fellow democrats.

Lenin tactfully avoided comment on Cheidze's proposal. Instead, his very first remarks on Russian soil dealt with the World War. The war could only be ended, he stated, when the people take up arms against their own capitalist exploiters. The only way forward, Lenin said, was the world socialist revolution, and the Russian revolution was preparing the way.

The Lenin strode out of the station to address the masses. As the searchlight rested on him, he repeated his denunciation of imperialist war and his call for

world socialist revolution.

"It was very interesting!" commented the left Menshevik Sukhanov. "Suddenly, before the eyes of all of us, completely swallowed up by the routine drudgery of the revolution, there was presented a bright, blinding, exotic beacon, obliterating everything we 'lived by.' Lenin's voice, heard straight from the train, was a 'voice from outside'. There had broken in upon us in the revolution a note that was not, to be sure, a contradiction, but that was novel, harsh, and somewhat deafening."

## Bolshevik headquarters

Lenin was hurried into an armored car. Slowly the armored car made its way through the crowds toward the palace of Kshesinskaya, a former court ballet dancer. Her palace had been converted into Bolshevik headquarters. At each corner the masses surged forward, the armored car stopped, and Lenin repeated his revolutionary message.

Once inside the headquarters, Lenin had no chance to rest. He spoke several times from the balcony. Some food and tea was served. Then he went downstairs for official greetings from the Bolshevik leadership and some preliminary remarks of his own.

"I shall never forget that thunder-like speech," commented Sukhanov, who had wormed his way into the affair, "which startled and amazed not only me, a heretic who had accidentally dropped in, but all the true believers. I am certain that no one had expected anything of the sort. . . ."

"Lenin was in general a very good orator—not an orator of the consummate, rounded phrase, or the luminous image, or of absorbing pathos, or of the pointed witticism, but an orator of enormous impact and power, breaking down complicated systems into the simplest and most generally accessible elements, and hammering, hammering, hammering them into the heads of his audience until he took them captive."

Lenin's points were simple enough. It was their very simplicity, their clarity, their directness that so frightened and disturbed even this audience of convinced Bolsheviks.

## Lenin's message

The war was imperialist. We could give it no support whatsoever. It could be ended only through socialist revolution. The provisional government was capitalist and was carrying on an imperialist war. We could give such a government no support, but rather must act to bring it down. We must break completely with the Mensheviks, and all others who prop up this capitalist government.

"We don't need a parliamentary republic, we don't need bourgeois democracy, we don't need any government except the Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Farmlaborers' deputies!" Sukhanov quoted Lenin.

The audience was thunder-struck. It was, Sukhanov commented, "a bolt from the blue." And Sukhanov was not the only one there who saw Lenin's message as pure anarchism and madness.

Lenin and Krupskaya, his companion and colleague, then went off to the home of two comrades who had a spare bedroom for them. A son of one of the comrades had made a little banner, "Workers of the World Unite," which hung over their beds.

The next morning Lenin was off to the Tauride Palace where the St. Petersburg Soviet met. There he repeated his views, once again meeting a stunned response.

Then on to a joint session with the Mensheviks that had been organized prior to Lenin's arrival as part of an effort to unite the two parties. The Bolsheviks asked Lenin to make clear that his remarks did not reflect the views of the party as a whole.

An uproar took place. "Primitive anarchism," stated Goldenberg, a Menshevik. Lenin is raising the

"banner of civil war within the democracy," he perceptively noted.

Only one Bolshevik spoke in Lenin's defense, the great woman revolutionary Alexandra Kollontai.

The struggle to transform politically the Bolshevik party had begun. By April 7 *Prauda*, the official party newspaper, printed Lenin's famous "April Theses." On April 8 it printed a statement disassociating the party from its contents.

### Winning the Bolsheviks

When the All-Russian conference of the Bolsheviks convened April 24, Lenin was able to carry the party, despite stiff resistance from Kamenev and a few others.

How was Lenin able to achieve such a striking victory in his party in such short order? Obviously he had great authority in a party he had contributed so much to. But there was more involved.

The party had been built in bitter struggle against Menshevism and conciliation with the capitalists. And the worker base of the party responded to Lenin. He vocalized their own class feelings, their own desires. They in turn were able to exert great influence on the leadership, especially in such revolutionary times.

Without Lenin it is doubtful that the party could have changed its course soon enough to act decisively. And Lenin, without the party, could well have been a man who knew what to do, but lacked the means to accomplish it. Lenin's political rearming of the party was thus decisive for the course of the revolution.

Having rearmed the party, Lenin then had another task to confront—winning over the masses. This required patience. The masses would have to learn the correctness of Lenin's point of view through their own experiences.

Lincoln Steffens gives one example of Lenin's efforts, repeated a thousand times, to convince the working class:

"The day I got close enough to hear him, the crowd evidently had been troubled by the inactivity of Kerenski [the head of the provisional government], and some advice to them to go home and work, not to give all their time to their self-government. My interpreter repeated Lenin's manifold speech afterward, as follows:

"Comrades, the revolution is on. The workers' revolution is on, and you are not working. The workers' and peasants' revolution means work, comrades; it does not mean idleness and leisure. That is a bourgeois ideal. The workers' revolution, a workers' government, means work, that all shall work; and here you are not working. You are only talking.

"Oh, I can understand how you, the people of Russia, having been suppressed so long, should want, now that you have won to power, to talk and to listen to orators. But some day soon, you—we all—must go to work and do things, act, produce results—food and socialism.

"And I can understand how you like and trust and put your hope in Kerenski. You want to give him time, a chance, to act. He means well, you say. He means socialism. But I warn you he will not make socialism. He may think socialism, he may mean socialism. But, comrades—and here he began to burn—I tell you Kerenski is an intellectual; he cannot act; he can talk; he cannot act. But, quietly again, 'you will not believe this yet. You will take time to give him time, and meanwhile, like Kerenski, you will not work. Very well, take your time.

"But—he flamed—'when the hour strikes, when you are ready to go back yourselves to work and you want a government that will go to work and not only think socialism and talk socialism and mean socialism—when you want a government that will do socialism, then—come to the Bolsheviks.'

They did.

## Latino groups targeted

# FALN grand jury probes give cover for political harassment

By José G. Pérez

The government is using a purported investigation into a mysterious terrorist group to slander, harass, and disrupt a wide range of Latino organizations throughout the United States and Puerto Rico.

Two federal grand juries—one in New York, the other in Chicago—claim to be investigating the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña (FALN—Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation). The group has reportedly taken credit for dozens of bombings in New York and other cities.

According to a report published on the front page of the Sunday, April 17, *New York Times*, the government has linked a wide range of movement groups to the FALN.

These include the New Mexico Raza Unida party; the Denver, Colorado, Crusade for Justice; the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church; Puerto Rico's National Committee to Free the Five Puerto Rican Political Prisoners; and Chicago's Rafael Cancel Miranda High School.

Last November cops claimed to have found an FALN "bomb factory" in a Chicago apartment said to be rented by Carlos Alberto Torres. The cops' story, however, is more than a little fishy.

They say a dope addict living in the building broke into the apartment and began selling the dynamite. Cops got wind of this and arrested him. He led them to Torres's apartment, which they raided—without a warrant—November 3.

The FBI came back the next day with a warrant. Torres was then charged with illegal possession of explosives.

Torres apparently wasn't around at the end of October and beginning of November when all this was going on.

And he hasn't been heard from since.

What's the link to the FALN? The cops can't get their story straight. Some say a typewriter used to type FALN messages was found in the apartment. Others assert there was FALN literature. Still another story says an FALN communiqué.

Many reporters have taken these police assertions as proof positive that Torres is a member—some say "leader"—of the FALN. But the government has yet to charge Torres with even one of the dozens of bombings attributed to the FALN.

During 1976 Torres worked with the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church. He volunteered to help write a hymnal and prayer book in Spanish.

The Episcopal commission works with people belonging to dozens of Chicano and Puerto Rican movement groups.

Using the traditional police methods of guilt by association and frame-up, the government has launched an extensive fishing expedition.

Following the alleged discovery of the "bomb factory," the FBI visited Maria Cueto, then-director of the Episcopal commission, and her secretary, Raisa Nemikin. The two women said they knew nothing about Torres's whereabouts or the FALN. But the government wasn't satisfied.

Working with some high church officials who want to squash the Hispanic commission, the government obtained unrestricted access to everything in the church's national headquarters.

Then the two women were dragged before the grand jury in New York and told to either testify or face prison.

Cueto and Nemikin refused to testify, saying the government was carrying out a witch-hunt. So they went to prison.

Meanwhile, in Chicago, several Puer-

to Ricans associated with the Rafael Cancel Miranda High School and two Chicanos associated with the New Mexico Raza Unida party were subpoenaed.

What's the connection between Carlos Torres and the targeted high school?

His father was a founder of the school, and Carlos Torres once tutored there three days. But the school is run by movement activists who are strong supporters of Puerto Rican independence.

What Moises Morales and Pedro Archuleta—the two New Mexico activists—supposedly have to do with the FALN is unclear. Some cops say Archuleta might have stolen dynamite for the group—in 1969, five years before the terrorist group emerged. Another says maybe Morales made phone calls for the FALN. Still a third says they only want to question them—implying they're not suspects at all.

The Chicago grand jury subpoenas have been challenged, since the way the grand jury is chosen systematically discriminates against Latinos and women.

But this posed no problem for the government. They began resubpoenaeing people to testify in New York.

The "links" between the FALN and other groups are equally tenuous.

For example, one apparent suspect, judging from the *Times*, is Nelson Canals. Canals is a former associate director of the Episcopal commission. Currently he is head of a committee in Puerto Rico that is seeking freedom for five Puerto Rican nationalists who have been in U.S. prisons since the early 1950s. The "link" is that the FALN has reportedly also called for release of the five, and that Canals has visited the imprisoned nationalists.

Another piece of "evidence" is that

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## P.R. leaders debate ties to U.S.

By Juan Rodríguez

STORRS, Conn.—Three prominent Puerto Rican political figures debated the island's ties to the United States here April 21.

Close to 800 people, three-fourths of them Puerto Ricans, attended "The Great Debate," which was organized as part of Puerto Rican History Week at the University of Connecticut.

The debaters were:

- Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist party and candidate for governor in 1976. The PSP calls for an independent, socialist Puerto Rico.

- Rafael Hernández Colón, a central leader of the Popular Democratic party and governor of Puerto Rico from 1972 until 1976. The *populares* support the so-called commonwealth status, the current form of U.S. domination over Puerto Rico.

- José Granados Navedo, a leader of the New Progressive party majority in the Puerto Rican legislature. The New Progressives call for Puerto Rico to become the fifty-first state.

Hernández Colón, the first speaker, asserted that Puerto Ricans have achieved self-determination because they "freely" chose commonwealth status in a 1952 referendum.

Colón noted that his party and the New Progressives have much in common, because they both support "permanent union" with the United States, only differing on how to achieve it.

He claimed that Puerto Rico can

never be independent, saying it is too small and suffers from a "lack of natural resources." He said this explains why proindependence parties have not received more than a few percent of the vote in the last several elections.

Granados Navedo began his presentation with a sharp attack on the Popular Democrats. He admitted that under commonwealth status Puerto Rico is a colony.

But the way to solve the problem, he said, is to make Puerto Rico a state. This would mean that Puerto Ricans could vote for president and elect representatives and senators to the U.S. Congress.

He launched a red-baiting attack against the independence movement, saying "socialist independence is tyranny."

Mari Brás denounced the demagogic claims of his opponents to support self-determination. He explained that independence is a necessary prerequisite for Puerto Ricans truly deciding their own destiny.

He debunked the myth that Puerto Rico has a "lack of natural resources." Puerto Rico, he said, has a large industrial base, fertile lands, and deposits of minerals such as nickel and copper. He also noted that, according to recent studies, Puerto Rico may also have petroleum and natural gas.

Mari Brás explained that Puerto Ricans have already experienced the reality of commonwealth and state-

hood.

In Puerto Rico wages are one-half to two-thirds those in the United States. Real unemployment is roughly 40 percent. And people are so poor that 70 percent qualify for food stamps. All these, he said, are the reality of commonwealth.

In the United States, Puerto Ricans are crowded into ghettos, get the worst jobs with the lowest wages, and are victims of racism. All these things, he said, are in reality statehood.

Mari Brás emphasized that "Puerto Rico's right to self-determination can only be exercised in the complete freedom that is present only in independence."

The crowd listened attentively and politely to the three presentations. It was clear, however, that their sentiments were with Mari Brás. When he was introduced, a section of the audience stood up chanting, "*Mari, seguro, a los yanquis dale duro*" (Mari, for sure, hit the yanquis hard). When he concluded, they gave him a standing ovation.

This is the first time in recent years that prominent supporters of North American rule in Puerto Rico have debated an independence advocate in this country. That the New Progressives and Popular Democrats felt compelled to do this is testimony to the growing support for Puerto Rico's independence among people living in the United States, especially young Puerto Ricans.

# Strikebreaking threats hit Milwaukee teachers

By Tony Prince

MILWAUKEE—As the strike of the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association (MTEA) ends its second full week, threats against the teachers have escalated.

• Over the April 23-24 weekend, many substitute teachers received letters and phone calls threatening them with a pay cut, loss of benefits, and less work in the future if they did not cross the picket lines on Monday, April 25.

*Tony Prince is a member of the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association.*

• During the week, court-appointed school desegregation master John Gronouski threatened to bring in an injunction to force the teachers back to work on the pretext that the strike is hurting desegregation. In reality, it is the board that has blocked desegregation and is now appealing it to the U.S. Supreme Court.

• On April 26 the Milwaukee School Board proposed that the teachers go back to work for a thirty-day "cooling off period." Since there are little more than thirty days left in the school year, the board was really proposing that the teachers give up.

• On April 28 both major dailies in Milwaukee, the *Journal* and the *Sentinel*, came out with editorials urging an injunction against the strike.

The morning after the board's thirty-day cooling-off period offer, more than 1,000 teachers picketed in front of the school administration building in a massive display of unity.

That evening, 600 parents, teachers, and students came to an open hearing the board called on the strike. The tone

of this meeting was decidedly anti-board.

Several members of the school custodians union declared their solidarity with the MTEA and blasted the board for its union-busting tactics.

Karen Baumberg, Parent-Teacher Association president at Eighty-first Street School, put the blame for the strike squarely on the board. "Because of the board's disruptive attitude," she said, "desegregation is being set back. Relations which started to develop between parents, teachers, and students are being torn apart."

Many parents and students condemned the board for keeping the schools open during the strike and pretending that education is going on. The board refuses to schedule make-up days for time lost as a result of the strike.

Tim Carpenter, student council president at Pulaski High School, commented, "With the education I'm getting now, about all I'm qualified to be is a member of the Mafia. All I've been doing is playing poker, playing chess, playing basketball, and staring at the walls."

The teachers' anger came through clearly. Marie Christianson expressed the sentiments of many of her co-workers. "I'm proud to be picketing," she said. "I picket in front of the schools because the administration is trying to take away rights we won years ago. Some people talk about teachers losing respect for going out on strike. But we are fighting for our principles and for better education."

The militancy of the strikers and the use of flying picket squads at weak schools has held the percentage of teachers scabbing down to about 15

*Continued on page 30*

# Atlanta city workers discuss strike defeat

By Linda Millwood

ATLANTA—On April 28 about fifty of the Atlanta city workers still on strike gathered to issue an official acknowledgment that their strike had been broken. Picket lines should come down, they said, and the remaining strikers should go back to whatever jobs the city will give them.

This was the third attempt to officially end the strike by American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1644. On April 24 the local's Public Works Chapter—the only one on strike—voted to return to work. But the strike resumed when returning strikers were turned away at their job sites.

At a meeting April 26, the international union recommended that strikers accept job offers from the city and reapply for jobs. This was overwhelmingly rejected by strikers angered by a brutal police attack on union members at the mayor's office earlier in the day.

In proposing an acknowledgment of defeat rather than another vote, International AFSCME Area Director Leamon Hood said, "You don't take a guy who is knocked out and ask him if the fight is over. . . . The strike is broken; we lost this round."

When the strike began on March 28 more than 1,000 city workers walked off their jobs. But the number of strikers declined rapidly. Mayor Maynard Jackson fired the strikers and stonewalled negotiations. Support for the strike failed to materialize.

A rally and march called by AFSCME on April 23 to demonstrate community support for the strikers drew only 200 people. It was clearly too little and too late.

The city workers' only chance to win the strike was to mobilize massive support in Atlanta's labor movement and Black community. But the AFSCME officials approached the strike from the beginning as a pressure tactic to make deals with the Democrats, not as a class battle requiring

full mobilization of labor's forces.

The AFSCME officials are so enamored of the Democratic party that union time and resources were diverted during the strike itself to support the congressional campaign of Democrat John Lewis. Lewis refused to come out in favor of the strike until after he lost and decided he might need AFSCME's money and volunteers for a future campaign.

Hood admitted to the April 28 gathering that the union's outreach to the community "came too late."

Hood told the meeting that AFSCME must now "hang an albatross around Maynard Jackson's neck for the upcoming mayoral election."

This is only the other side of the coin from the AFSCME leadership's earlier political support to Jackson, and to strikebreaking Mayor Sam Massell before him. They can see no solution beyond replacing one antilabor Democrat with another antilabor Democrat.

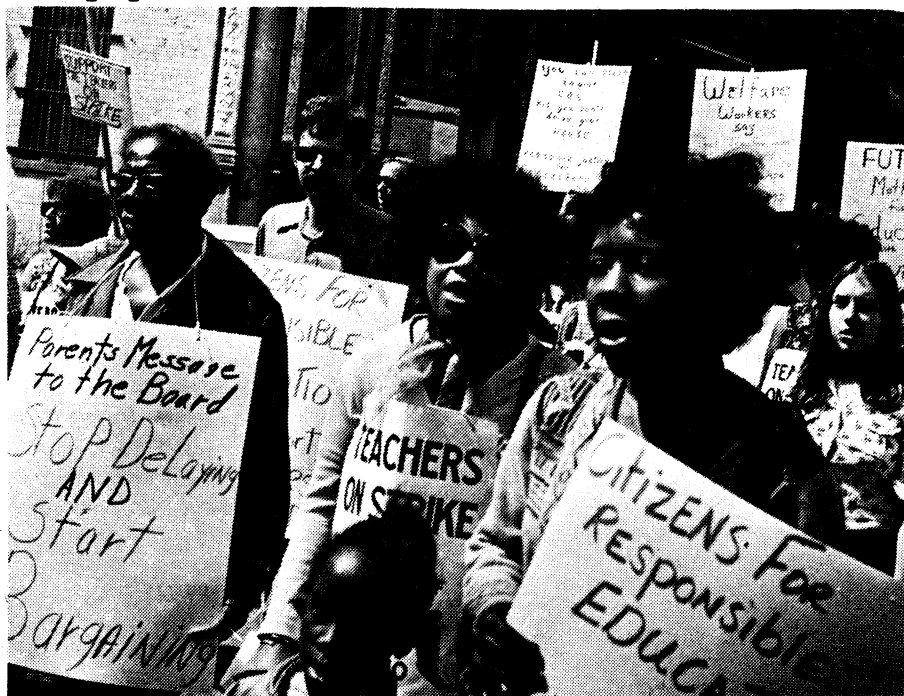
Local 1644 Secretary-Treasurer Bill O'Kain proposed an alternative: "The best way for the union to hang an albatross around Maynard's neck is not to support any Democrat for mayor [but] to pick and run one of our own ranks independently."

O'Kain pointed out it would be better to lose with an independent labor campaign—which could build solidarity with the union and expose the Democrats' lies that there is "no money" for city services and city workers—than to help put in office someone like Maynard Jackson who can only be counted on to attack the union.

O'Kain's proposal was well received at the meeting. Even local President Cleveland Chappell stated he "wholeheartedly agrees."

The undeniable lesson of the defeated Atlanta strike is that labor's reliance on the Democratic party is a bankrupt policy. But it remains to be seen if a new leadership will develop that can initiate a winning strategy to rebuild the union.

## Support Cincinnati teachers!



Militant/Dick Roberts

By Tom Kincaid

CINCINNATI—Striking teachers here were hit with a permanent injunction May 3 ordering them to cease picketing and return to work.

The Cincinnati Federation of Teachers, on strike since April 13, said it would defy the back-to-work order. About 1,600 of the school system's 3,100 teachers are out.

Negotiations are deadlocked as the school board offers only a 3 percent pay increase, tied to passage of a property tax increase in June. Teachers demand an immediate 11 percent increase and 5 percent more at the beginning of next school year.

The board has tried to terrorize teachers back to work by cutting off

insurance for strikers and singling out six teachers to fire for "unprofessional conduct" on the picket line.

Teachers and their supporters have responded with big solidarity actions. Six hundred marched in an April 30 demonstration (photo above) sponsored by the CFT and Citizens for Responsible Education, a community strike-support group.

That same week, the CFT led another street demonstration of 600, picketed a school board meeting, and attracted some 800 people to a teacher-community meeting.

The CFT says it will not go back until all victimized teachers are reinstated.

## N.Y. Latino unionists back rights of undocumented

By Steve Beck

NEW YORK—Nearly 100 union officials and members met here April 16 to discuss organizing the more than 300,000 workers in nonunion shops in New York.

A resolution supporting the rights of undocumented workers was among those passed at the conference, which was called by the Hispanic Labor Committee of the New York City Central Labor Council.

Saying "the role of labor is to unite workers," Kathy Andrade of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union introduced the resolution. It demanded that employers of undocumented workers be forced to pay Social Security taxes for them, supported legislation for an amnesty for these workers, and called for more discussion of the issue by labor.

Michael Mann, a regional representative for the AFL-CIO, tried to have the resolution tabled. "The position of the AFL-CIO should be maintained," he said.

Mann was referring to the drive by the AFL-CIO officialdom for more deportations and for legislation to outlaw hiring of undocumented workers. "They're taking jobs away

from our people," Mann said.

The conference participants, most of them Latinos, understood that no serious campaign could be launched among these workers if the labor movement is trying to push them out of the country. The motion to table was defeated.

The conference also projected future meetings with community leaders and clergy. Gerena Valentin, president of the Desfile Estatal Boricua Inc., pointed out many community struggles going on against budget cutbacks. "We have to develop the same attitude," he said. "We have to go back to the days of the CIO."

He pointed to the April 15 march by the Citywide Community Coalition as an example of resistance to the cuts.

Despite the positive tone of the conference, many calls in the past to organize the unorganized have come to little more than words. Such a campaign would require a lot of union resources. It would require labor support to the struggles of oppressed workers and the unemployed, against stiff opposition from courts, cops, employers, and labor's false "friends" in the Democratic party.

As Valentin said, "It's going to be war."



# World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM  
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

MAY 13, 1977

## Bhutto imposes martial law

# Mass opposition against Pakistani regime spreads

By Ernest Harsch

As antigovernment strikes and demonstrations continued to spread throughout Pakistan, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto assumed emergency powers April 21 and imposed martial law on the country's three largest cities. The stepped-up repression marked a new stage in Bhutto's efforts to contain a growing mass upsurge against his dictatorial rule.

The cities placed under martial law were Karachi—Pakistan's major port and industrial center—Hyderabad, and Lahore, whose populations together number about 10 million persons. Strict curfews were imposed and the government radio warned, "Anyone violating the curfew will be liable to be shot at." The next day, the curfew was extended to the industrial city of Lyallpur.

The army banned "all types of processions, public meetings and other activities, including announcements detrimental to law and order."

In the days that followed, more demonstrators were gunned down in Karachi, Hyderabad, and other cities, bringing the death toll since the protests began to more than 200. One report placed the number of persons killed so far at up to 300. In addition, censorship was imposed on the press, and in a series of predawn raids April 24, about forty persons, including virtually all top opposition leaders not already in jail, were arrested.

The imposition of martial law was accompanied by the declaration of a new state of emergency by President Chaudhry Fazal Elahi. (Pakistan was already under a state of emergency decreed in 1971 during the Bangladesh independence struggle.)

Elahi suspended some of the democratic rights guaranteed under the constitution on the grounds that "a grave emergency exists, and the security of Pakistan is threatened by internal disturbances."

The mass demonstrations against the regime began shortly after the March 7 elections, in which Bhutto's Pakistan People's party (PPP) claimed to have won 163 seats in the 200-seat National Assembly. The Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), a grouping of nine opposition parties, charged Bhutto with massive vote fraud and demanded new elections under the supervision of the military and the courts. The PNA also called for Bhutto's resignation.

During the elections, the PNA, which is led by a number of Islamic religious figures and former military officers, campaigned on a generally rightist platform. But the PNA's demand for Bhutto's resignation and its call for an end to repressive rule has won wide support. The massive and frequent marches, rallies, and strikes demonstrate the depth of popular sentiment against the regime.

### Issue is democracy

The central issue to emerge in the protests is the Bhutto regime's increasingly authoritarian rule. In an April 21 dispatch from Karachi, *Washington Post* correspondent Lewis M. Simons quoted a Pakistani journalist as saying, "We've had all we can stand of Mr. Bhutto and his dictatorial ways. The people of Pakistan have proven they are willing to die for democracy."

The Bhutto regime has a long record of repression. In 1971 Bhutto backed a bloody war against the Bangladesh independence struggle that left more than a million Bengalis dead. Since Bangladesh gained its independence, Bhutto has also attempted to crush struggles for self-determination by the Baluchis and Pathans in Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province.

### Thousands still jailed

In November 1975, Amnesty International estimated that there were 38,000 political prisoners in Pakistan. Other sources put the figure much higher. The PNA has charged that an additional 24,000 persons have been arrested during the recent protests.

Bhutto has explained this repression by stating, "I don't allow speeches to be made to the extent where people may poison the already not very sophisticated minds of the peasantry." (Quoted in the April 19 *New York Times*.)

The fall of Indira Gandhi's dictatorial regime in neighboring India has bolstered the determination of the Pakistani demonstrators to topple Bhutto as well.

### Strikes spread

As the mass demonstrations continued and drew in broader sectors of the population, other grievances were also raised, including opposition to the rampant corruption and the high rate of inflation. Workers of the Pakistan International Airlines struck to back their demands for higher pay and better working conditions.



ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

The week preceding the declaration of the state of emergency saw some of the biggest protests since the elections. According to a report in the April 16 issue of the British daily *Guardian*, one protest march in Lahore drew several hundred thousand persons.

Popular chants among demonstrators included "Bhutto dictator!" and "Bhutto quit!"

Simons reported in an April 20 dispatch from Karachi:

The entire population is electrified with politics. As we walked through stinking, fly-swarming alleys and bazaars, everyone had words of hate or praise on their lips, depending on whether they were talking of the opposition or the government. . . .

Shabby shop and house walls were plastered with up-to-the-minute wall newspapers, on the Chinese model, reporting the latest alleged government atrocities.

"Regular newspapers have lost credence through years of government control," my colleague [a Pakistani journalist] said. "The people only believe their own news now."

Dozens of protest demonstrations, led by Moslem religious leaders, moved through streets littered with brickbats, smashed glass and bonfires. They carried banners and shouted slogans calling Bhutto "a dog" and saying "Bhutto's democracy is full of bullets."

The newly-formed Pakistan Labor Alliance (PLA), a federation of twenty-six unions, organized a general strike in Karachi, Hyderabad, Multan, and

Lyallpur April 20, bringing out 1.5 million workers in Karachi alone.

It also called a countrywide general strike for April 22 to protest against the police shooting of demonstrators and to back demands for Bhutto's ouster. "Union leaders have called the action a 'wheel-jam,'" Simons reported, "implying that the wheels of industry have been forced to a halt."

### Bhutto must resign

Despite the state of emergency and the imposition of martial law, the strike was a success, bringing business to a standstill in much of the country. PLA President Mohammed Sharif declared, "This strike proves beyond all doubt that the people of Pakistan do not support Mr. Bhutto. We will not call it off until he steps down and calls for fresh elections."

In the Liaquatabad section of Karachi, a march of about 2,000 persons was attacked by troops. "Without warning," a participant told Simons, "they suddenly turned their rifles on us and opened fire." The government claimed that five demonstrators were killed, but unofficial reports put the figure at twenty-two.

Simons reported that as a truck filled with troops later drove past the site of the killings, "A roar went up from the crowd: 'Death to the Pakistan Army.'"

## Japanese Trotskyists declare solidarity with South Korean dissidents

[The following editorial appeared in the March 28 issue of *Sekai Kakumei* (World Revolution), weekly newspaper of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League, Japanese section of the Fourth International. The translation and footnotes are by Hideo Yamamoto.]

\* \* \*

On Tuesday, March 22, Carter and Fukuda were busy in Washington conferring behind closed doors and making occasional public statements about "Japan-U.S. cooperation in the world." At the same time in Seoul, the Supreme Court pronounced its "verdict" against eighteen defendants in connection with the Declaration of Democratic National Salvation.<sup>1</sup>

It was an unusual full session of the Supreme Court, attended by all sixteen justices, including Chief Justice Min Bok Ki, that condemned Kim Dae Jung and the other defendants to remain in prison. That verdict symbolized the determination of the Park Chung Hee regime to hold out against Carter's "moral diplomacy." In his customary role as a judicial rubber stamp for the dictatorship, Min Bok Ki ruled that "the contents of both the declaration itself and the sermon given on March 1 prove the defendants guilty of spreading distorted information." He rejected the appeal of the eighteen, letting stand their convictions by a lower court.

Kim Dae Jung and the other defendants who appeared in court reportedly showed signs of exhaustion after nearly a year of arbitrary detention, but their fighting spirit was undiminished as they stood motionless watching Min Bok Ki read the verdict. The feelings of the eighteen were perhaps best expressed by Kim Dae Jung's wife, Lee Hee Ho, who spoke out immediately after the decision. Facing reporters' microphones, she noted that the outcome of the trial had been exactly as predicted, and declared that it was not the verdict of a court of justice, but an act of vengeance. Nevertheless, she emphasized, the truth will surely win out in the end. The defendants, as they were being escorted away, shouted from inside the police vans, "It was we who won!" People who had gathered outside the Supreme Court building then set off in a demonstration, parading through downtown Seoul. At the head of the demonstration marched Yun Po Sun, Ham Suk Hun, and Chung Il Hyung, three of the defendants whose sentences had been suspended due to old age, together with Lee Tai Yong and Lee Woo Jung, the two women defendants whose sentences had also been suspended.

1. The Declaration of Democratic National Salvation, calling for the restoration of democratic rights and the resignation of President Park Chung Hee, was signed by eighteen prominent dissidents and announced at a mass in Myong Dong Cathedral in Seoul on March 1, 1976. Signers of the declaration were subsequently arrested and tried under the Presidential Emergency Decree, which prohibits all criticism of the regime.

South Korea is now entering a situation in which it will be possible for political actions like the march near the Supreme Court building to attract and mobilize a majority of the people. The proclamation of a "Charter of Democratic National Salvation" in response to the Supreme Court decision is another clear example of how the repressive policies of the Park regime today serve only to promote and strengthen the unity of the struggling dissidents.

Signers of the Charter of Democratic National Salvation included Jung Koo Young, former chairman of the Democratic Republican party<sup>2</sup> and up to 1974 an advisor to President Park; Yoon Hyong Joong, a Catholic priest; Yang Il Tong, leader of the Democratic Reunification party<sup>3</sup>; Catholic Bishop Jee Hak Jung; Park Hyung Kyu, pastor of the First Church of Seoul; and Cho Wha Soon of the Capital Industrial Zone Urban Missionary Church. Yun Po Sun, Ham Suk Jun and Chung Il Hyung, who had been convicted earlier the same day, also added their signatures. This new charter indicates the firm solidarity among the forces around Kim Dae Jung who issued their declaration last year, the signers of the Second Declaration of Democratic National Salvation issued this year in Wonju,<sup>4</sup> and the authors of the March 10 Declaration of Workers Rights.<sup>5</sup> And not only that. These steps toward unity of the struggling South Korean people have begun to create political divisions among forces that used to be central backers of the dictatorship. The fact that Jung Koo Young and Yang Il Tong signed the charter was a bitter blow to the Park regime.

The Charter of Democratic National Salvation spells out six key demands for rapid implementation, as follows:

1. Lift the state of emergency, declare the Yushin Constitution<sup>6</sup> and all the emergency decrees null and void.
2. Release and restore full human rights to all political prisoners. Abolish all undemocratic institutions and laws.
3. End all torture, interrogation, and

2. The Democratic Republican party (DRP) was the main bourgeois party in South Korea prior to the issuing of the emergency decrees under which President Park has ruled since 1975. Park ran as a candidate of the DRP in the 1971 presidential election, narrowly defeating Kim Dae Jung, the candidate of the New Democratic party.

3. A relatively small bourgeois opposition party.

4. The Second Declaration was issued in the provincial city of Wonju after the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) detained many activists in Seoul and confiscated the text of the document they planned to read on March 1, 1977, in Myong Dong Cathedral.

5. A statement issued by a grouping of religious leaders who condemned the starvation wages paid to South Korean workers as well as the Park regime's manipulation of the official "trade-union" apparatus.

6. The Yushin Constitution, adopted in 1972, gives President Park the power to declare a state of emergency and rule by decree for an unlimited period.



World Revolution

Tokyo demonstrators demanding release of South Korean political prisoners

other forms of political repression and spying against the population.

4. Guarantee freedom of speech and of religion, university autonomy, and the independence of the judiciary.

5. Guarantee the right of all workers, farmers, and fishermen to a decent living.

6. Eliminate all corrupt, unjust, and secret diplomacy. Establish a good-neighbor foreign policy.

These six points will become a program of action for all the South Korean people in their struggle for "democratic national autonomy and national reunification." This six-point program of action will be a guiding light, unifying the South Korean people's struggles against the Park regime and against Japanese imperialism in the days ahead. The coming sharp struggles will surpass the ones led by the People's Council for Restoration of Democracy in 1974, which forced Park to set the repressive apparatus in motion with his Emergency Decree No. 1.

The Park dictatorship has chosen to hand down its vengeance verdict just at the time when public attention was focused on the opening of Japan-United States summit talks, just as "Japan-U.S. cooperation in the world" (including an updated version of the South Korea Clause<sup>7</sup>) was being worked out. Coming on the heels of the South Korean bribery scandals in the U.S. and Japan, this vengeance verdict

exposes Carter's "moral diplomacy" for the lie that it is. It will probably exacerbate the already strained relations between Washington and Seoul.

This state of affairs—which is a direct consequence of the Kim Dae Jung abduction incident<sup>8</sup>—will in turn pose an even sharper dilemma for the Fukuda government, Park's most consistent defender. But above all, the situation calls for the people of Japan to struggle in solidarity with the fight for democracy in South Korea. Follow the example of the South Korean people!

March 23, 1977

7. The "South Korea Clause" in the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty stipulates that "the stability of South Korea is vital to the security of Japan," and by implication pledges U.S. military intervention whenever necessary to back up the Seoul regime. This clause provides a legal pretext for extensive Japanese collaboration with the U.S. military establishment in and around Korea, in spite of the Japanese constitution, which supposedly prohibits the maintenance of military forces.

8. Kim Dae Jung was kidnapped from a Tokyo hotel by KCIA agents in August 1973. The incident outraged public opinion in Japan, but the Japanese government refused to demand Kim's release, and instead negotiated with the Park regime for a "political settlement," which amounted to nothing more than a public denial of the KCIA's role and the Japanese government's complicity in the affair.

## Park launches new round of arrests

South Korean dictator Park Chung Hee has begun a new wave of arrests against dissident religious figures, students, teachers, and writers. The current crackdown started April 13, one day after the departure of a U.S. congressional delegation that had visited South Korea to investigate restrictions on human rights there.

Forty persons were known to have been taken into custody as of April 21. Those picked up are in addition to more than 100 others serving jail sentences or awaiting trial for criticizing the Park regime.

According to an April 21 dispatch from Seoul by *New York Times* correspondent Andrew H. Malcolm, "At least five college students have been charged under the strict anti-Communist law, which in South Korea carries a possible death penalty." In April 1975, eight persons accused of belonging to the outlawed People's Revolutionary party were

hanged for opposing the Park regime.

Malcolm also reported that the authorities appeared to be seeking "evidence" to build up a court case of "Communist conspiracy." "Those who have been released," he reported, "say that agents of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency conduct intensive interrogations in which the questions, frequently shouted, center on political beliefs and actions and possible Communist affiliations."

Some of the arrests appear to have been designed to prevent the holding of protest actions on April 19, the seventeenth anniversary of the 1960 student uprising that overthrew the dictatorship of Syngman Rhee.

Despite the arrests, Malcolm reported April 19, "There were, however, a number of large and emotional memorial meetings to commemorate the 1960 student uprising and the killing of more than 100 young South Koreans by the police."

## India: 30,000 political prisoners still jailed

Since the new regime of Prime Minister Morarji Desai was elected to office, thousands of political prisoners in India have been released from jail. Many of them had been held under such repressive laws as the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA) and the Defence of India Rules (DIR) during Indira Gandhi's state of emergency.

Thousands of others, however, remain in prison. Most of them are alleged members or supporters of the Maoist Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (CPI[ML]), who are commonly known as Naxalites, after the 1967 peasant uprising in Naxalbari, West Bengal. Some are members of the Communist party of India (Marxist) (CPI[M]), a Stalinist party that is aligned with neither Moscow nor Peking.

An anonymous Naxalite, who is facing charges in one of the CPI(ML) "conspiracy" cases, described the plight of these political prisoners in an article in the April 2 issue of the *Bombay Economic and Political Weekly*. The writer pointed out:

... even now, more than 30,000 prisoners belonging to the CPI(M-L) and other such revolutionary groups, and cadres of the CPI(M) are languishing in different jails all over India. In West Bengal alone, the number of such prisoners could be anywhere between 15,000 and 20,000. Some opposition leaders and rank and file, who were held under MISA or DIR, have been released. But very few CPI(M-L) detainees [detainees] imprisoned under these draconian laws have managed to get their releases.

The bulk of the Naxalite prisoners, moreover, are not legally designated as "political prisoners" at all, but as "undertrial prisoners" charged with specific criminal offenses.

The new regime has already indicat-

ed that these undertrial prisoners will not be released.

During the Gandhi regime's massive repression against the Naxalites and other activists during the late 1960s and early 1970s, thousands of persons were arrested on trumped-up charges of murder, arson, looting, and dozens of other crimes under the Indian Penal Code. As a result, they were denied bail.

Because of the deliberately slow legal process, many were held for years before being brought to trial. Some have still not been tried. Since most of these prisoners are poor peasants, landless agricultural laborers, or workers, they cannot afford the legal expenses incurred by long cases.

Torture, including beatings and the use of electric shocks, has been widely used against alleged Naxalite prisoners.

Noting the situation of those who have been tried and sentenced, the report in the *Economic and Political Weekly* said, "According to one estimate, there are at least 100 political prisoners in West Bengal who are undergoing life imprisonment."

The author of the report noted that the civil-liberties groups that had been suppressed during Gandhi's state of emergency have resumed their activities in many states and urged them to organize a mass movement to demand the release of all Naxalite and other political prisoners.

However, the writer was skeptical about the willingness of the pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI) to participate in such a movement:

While it pretends to be a sympathetic force, it is necessary to remember that in Kerala—which till recently was being run by a CPI-led Ministry—Naxalites are still rotting in jails.



MORARJI DESAI

### Israeli lawyer victimized

The Israeli government has banned attorney Leah Zemel from defending two young West Germans who have been under detention for fifteen months, the Australian revolutionary-socialist weekly *Direct Action* reported April 14.

Zemel is a regular contributor to *Matzpen Marxist*, the newspaper that reflects the views of the Revolutionary Communist League, Israeli section of the Fourth International. She is a prominent defender of victimized Palestinians and has been engaged by many of the students who were arrested during the massive Day of the Land protests in March 1976.

"In December 1976," *Direct Action* reported, "Zemel was retained by the parents of the two West Germans, Brigitte Schultz and Thomas Teuter. Just like the parents, Zemel was forced to keep the detention secret and not publicise it. When the Israeli Government finally disclosed that three Arabs and two West Germans have been held secretly since January 1976 for allegedly planning an attempt to shoot down an El Al jet in Nairobi, Kenya, Zemel was able to disclose the Zionist authorities' blackmail: 'It was clear Israel would not let the parents see their children if they publicised the detention before coming here,' she said."

Two days after she made the statement, Zemel was barred from representing Schultz and Teuter, on the alleged grounds that the prosecution will present classified information during the trial.

### Polish bureaucrats in bind

Poland's economic planners, caught between the rising expectations of militant workers and a soaring debt to the West, are scaling down attempts to attract foreign investment.

Citing estimates by Western analysts, Malcolm Browne in the April 4 *New York Times* puts Warsaw's debt to capitalist countries at roughly \$8 billion. The debt service rate—the proportion of new credit that must be spent to pay off old debts—has risen to about 25 percent, a rate comparable to Mexico.

In 1970 port workers in Poland rebelled against high consumer prices, leading to the fall of the Gomulka regime and the institution of limited economic reforms that have contributed to the bureaucracy's current debt troubles.

"In the period 1971-75, we over invested in a period of dynamic growth," said Stanislaw Brzozski, director of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Shipping. "Salaries have risen 40 percent in the past five years and consumption has increased dramatically. . . . Under the current five-year plan, the investment rate will fall from 32 percent of total expenditures to 25 percent."

One consequence of the cuts, Browne reported, is that General Motors's agreement with Warsaw to build a \$1 billion truck plant appears to have fallen through.

### Rabin steps down

An Israeli court fined Lea Rabin, wife of Israel's prime minister, \$27,000 on April 17 for violations of the country's currency regulations. Her husband had earlier paid an administrative fine of about \$1,600 in lieu of facing legal action.

During the time Yitzhak Rabin served as ambassador to the United States, he was the cosigner of a bank account his wife opened in Washington, D.C. However, when the Rabins returned to Israel in 1973 they broke the law by failing to close the account and convert the \$21,101 it held back into Israeli pounds.

In the wake of the scandal that followed disclosure of the secret account, Prime Minister Rabin announced April 14 that he would "take a vacation" to clear the way for his successor as Labor party head, former Defense Minister Shimon Peres, to step in as acting prime minister until national elections are held May 17.

### UAW defends Polish workers

The International Executive Board of the United Auto Workers Union has authorized a contribution of \$10,000 to the internationally organized Committee for the Defense of Polish Workers, UAW President Leonard Woodcock announced in Detroit March 6.

The funds are to be used to help feed the families of Polish workers who were dismissed from their jobs for participating in the June 1976 demonstrations against stiff price increases in basic necessities.

### Threat to British 'Socialist Worker'

A series of libel actions brought by trade-union bureaucrats is threatening to silence the British weekly *Socialist Worker*, according to a statement issued March 28. *Socialist Worker* presents the views of Britain's Socialist Workers party (formerly International Socialists).

In the first of the four libel actions taken against it early this year, the newspaper was fined \$17,000—the equivalent of a year's wages for the entire *Socialist Worker* staff. The offending article was a satirical attack on a union leadership for encouraging its members to take cheap vacations in General Franco's Spain.

The London *Times* reprinted parts of the same article and was also approached by the union's attorneys. Its refusal to settle was not taken any further, however.

The total damages against the newspaper may run as high as \$40,000 to \$50,000, easily enough to close it down.

Supporters of *Socialist Worker's* right to publish—including Philip Agee, Noam Chomsky, William Kunstler, and other well-known figures—warned that the aim of financially breaking a socialist group is a threat to civil liberties everywhere.



## S. African students protest death of political prisoners

Several hundred students marched through the Black city of Soweto March 6 to protest the death in detention of Samuel Malinga and other Black political prisoners.

The demonstration began after Malinga's funeral. The students marched two miles to Malinga's home, waving placards and shouting slogans. At one point during the march, riot police intercepted the students, taking away their placards and attempting to disperse the march with tear gas and gunfire.

Malinga had been arrested in Soweto in January under the draconian Terrorism Act. Security police claimed that he died February 22, allegedly of heart disease, after being transferred to a prison in Pietermaritzburg for questioning. But coming after the recent deaths of many other political prisoners, suspicions were raised that Malinga may have been killed by Vorster's jailers.

Since 1963, forty-three political pri-

soners are known to have died in police custody without having been brought to trial. Twenty of them, all of whom were Black, have died since the massive Black protests against the apartheid regime began in June 1976. The authorities have claimed that of those who died since the Soweto uprisings, six committed suicide by hanging themselves, six died of "natural causes," and three were killed by falls, either down stairs or out of windows. No cause of death was announced for the rest.

In response to the furor caused by the deaths, Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons James T. Kruger acknowledged at a news conference February 23 that sixteen prisoners had died, but he denied that the deaths had resulted from police brutality. He claimed, "It is reasonable to assume that most of the suicides are by hard-core Marxists who are taking their own lives rather than talk."

At the same time, the regime has



Soweto students protesting white minority rule

refused to allow an independent inquiry into the deaths. Demands for an inquiry have been raised by the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Progressive Reform party, the Johannesburg *Rand Daily Mail*, and Sonny Leon, the leader of the Coloured Labour party, among others.

The authorities have also sought to obstruct independent autopsies of the victims. Mapetla Mohapi, a former member of the Black People's Convention and the South African Students Organisation (SASO), allegedly hanged himself in August while being held under the Terrorism Act. Two Black physicians who examined his body were arrested before they were able to testify at an inquest.

Before a post-mortem could be carried out on Naboth Ntshuntsha, who was said to have hanged himself January 8, two incisions were made in the body. According to the March issue of the London monthly *Anti-Apartheid News*, "they were performed in such a way as to make it impossible to ascertain the precise cause of death."

William Tshwane, who was detained along with other Soweto students June 25, 1976, was reported to have died on the day of his arrest. However, his parents were not informed until October 14, when they were told they could not have the body, since it had already been buried.

Despite Pretoria's attempts at a cover-up, enough details have been disclosed about some of the cases to

confirm the use of physical assault and torture.

Joseph Masobiya Mdluli, the last political prisoner known to have died in detention before the Soweto uprisings, was arrested under the Terrorism Act on March 18, 1976. His death was announced the next day, the police claiming that he died after falling against a chair.

Four policemen were brought to court on charges of culpable homicide in connection with Mdluli's death. During the trial, one government pathologist described Mdluli's injuries, which included bruises, abrasions, extensive hemorrhaging, three fractured ribs, and a fractured Adam's apple. He initially concluded that Mdluli was strangled to death. Two other government pathologists said that he died by "the application of force to the neck."

Luke Mazwembe, a member of SASO, died September 2, 1976, two hours after being thrown into a cell in the police headquarters in Cape Town. Again, the police claimed he committed suicide. But during an inquest into his death in January, Dr. G.J. Knobel testified that Mazwembe may have been killed and then hanged to fake a suicide.

In light of what was previously known about the general treatment of political prisoners in South Africa, it can be assumed that most, if not all, of those who died were the victims of police brutality.

## Apartheid whitewash

By Omari Musa

In a transparent attempt to defuse mounting criticism of its treatment of Black political prisoners, the South African government recently allowed twenty-four foreign and South African reporters to visit the Robben Island prison camp. The prison is reserved for Black freedom fighters convicted of "terrorist acts."

The picture painted by the reporters is of an island paradise—complete with tennis court, freshly painted buildings, a forty-hour work-week, good food, and excellent health care.

A different picture emerges from a letter smuggled out of Robben Island by a Namibian prisoner published in the September 1976 issue of *Nami-*

*bia News*.

The letter describes torture and a lack of decent food. It lists the names of prisoners who have died for lack of proper medical care. The jobs consist of dangerous work in a seaweed factory, breaking rocks for gravel, and busting limestone with picks.

The prisoners can rarely use the library. All newspapers, magazines, radios, and political literature are banned. And mail is so heavily censored that often only the name and address of the writer is left.

Scores of Blacks have been tortured and murdered in South African jails since the mid 1960s. The demand for the release of all political prisoners is as urgent as ever.

## Thousands rally against Basque oppression

By Gerry Foley

Coming at the same time as the legalization of the Spanish Communist party, the government's ban on commemorations of the Basque national holiday April 9-10 revealed the claws hidden in Premier Suárez's velvet glove.

Even the conservative bourgeois foreign press expressed shock at the brutality of the Spanish authorities. For example, in its April 16-22 issue the *Economist*, one of the most authoritative magazines written directly for British big business, wrote:

Foreign journalists who went to Vitoria [where one of the main Basque rallies was to be held] described the conduct of the police as provocative and brutal. A Belgian television cameraman was seriously injured by a rubber bullet fired into his face at short range by a policeman who had beckoned him to approach. Colleagues who went to the cameraman's aid were fired on too. The police seemed, once again, to be doing their utmost to discredit Spain's reformist government.

*Le Monde* reported the lengths the

government went to in order to prevent the demonstration scheduled to be held in Vitoria, where the police killed Basque demonstrators in March 1976, the first Basque martyrs of the post-Franco period.

Vitoria was literally sealed off by police blockades.

In the town itself, several thousand police took up positions. They came from the barracks near Logroño, but also apparently from Valladolid [a town in north-central Spain, far from the Basque country], Madrid, and even from Andalusia [on the southern tip of the Iberian peninsula].

Even such police intimidation could not stem the flood of Basque nationalist demonstrations. It managed only to divide them. Writing in the April 12 issue of *Le Monde*, correspondent Bernard Brigueux commented on the Vitoria rallies:

Despite this array of police—the largest undoubtedly that any Spanish Basque city has seen in quite a while—the demonstrations drew impressive crowds. This was quite far from the hundred thousand that was expected if the rally was authorized. But the presence of thousands of apparently

peaceful Basques violating the official ban . . . was all the more spectacular.

Furthermore, the Vitoria demonstration was given wider scope by the participation, reportedly for the first time in a major Basque action, of Catalan nationalist delegations.

The Basque demonstrators pointed up the contrast between Suárez's repressive moves against them and his granting legal status to the Communist party. They chanted "Legalize the Basque people."

This slogan reflected the fact that this small nationality, which suffered most from Francoist repression, continues to be treated as an outlaw nation by his successors. At the same time, on the French side of the border that runs through the Basque country, it is illegal even to say that a Basque nation exists.

The reason for the government's ban on the Basque demonstrations, according to Brigueux, was to try to drive a wedge between the Basque moderates and more combative forces.

Presumably Suárez's intent was to show the moderates that the government is determined not to relax its grip

until a "responsible alternative" emerges in the Basque country. After the huge and enthusiastic crowds that gathered to welcome nationalist fighters released under the latest amnesty, the government may have thought that a show of force was necessary to prove that this upsurge had not broken its will to keep a hard grip on the rebellious Basque people.

It is, in fact, in the Basque country that Franco's heirs face their most difficult immediate political problems. So far, Suárez has been able to stave off explosions only with the help of the Communist and Social Democratic parties, which have been able to hold the masses back.

But in the Basque country, the hold of the traditional reformist parties is relatively weak. Their ambiguous attitude toward the Basque national struggle prevented them from gaining the same kind of influence they have in other working-class centers in the Spanish state. At the same time, there is widespread respect for the revolutionary nationalists and for the socialist groups that originated in this current.

# For sale: desert land, politicians

By Dan Fein

PHOENIX—Don Bolles, an investigative reporter for the *Arizona Republic*, was killed here last June when a bomb exploded in his car. Bolles was in the middle of researching a major story on organized crime in Arizona.

A few months later, a team of thirty-six investigative reporters made its way to Arizona to take up where Bolles had left off. They were determined to show that the working press would not be intimidated by gangland violence.

The Investigative Reporters and Editors team (IRE) concluded that corruption here reached into the highest levels of Arizona government. Both Democratic and Republican politicians were linked to organized crime on the local, state, and national levels, the team's articles said.

Millions of Americans have read the series. But here in Arizona's largest city, residents have had to scramble for out-of-town papers to get the story.

The two daily papers—both owned by the Pulliam family—have refused to carry the articles.

They were, however, carried in *New Times*—a Phoenix alternative weekly—in a somewhat shortened form.

The first article hit Arizona like a bolt of desert lightning.

It began: "For close to three decades, Sen. Barry Goldwater, his brother, Bob, and their close friend, Harry Rosenzweig, the former Republican state chairman, have dominated Phoenix and much of Arizona while condoning the presence of organized crime through friendships and business alliances with mob figures. . . ."

The article went on to describe Goldwater's family connection with Mafia figure Moe Dalitz. Goldwater is also a regular visitor to California's La Costa Country Club, which was built with money from Teamsters union pension funds. It's widely known as a hangout for "important criminal elements," as the IRE article puts it.



DON BOLLES

After the article appeared, Senator Goldwater threatened to sue.

The series went on to expose a vast web of shady and outright illegal land speculation, prostitution, bribery, and "favors" for politicians and members of state regulatory agencies.

The IRE team also showed vividly what unchecked corruption means to working people.

An article on Arrowhead Ranch, co-owned by Robert Goldwater, described the inhuman conditions faced by undocumented Mexican farm workers.

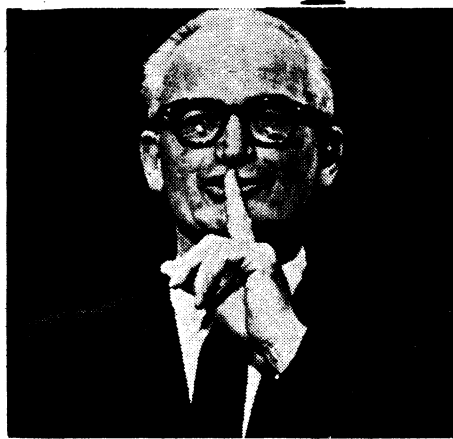
The IRE team reported that the workers "lived amid their own excrement and garbage in orange-crate shelters and fly-infested camps shielded from curious eyes by black plastic sheets hung on trees."

According to the article, the farm workers were paid five dollars a day. When the ranch owners decided they didn't need them any more, they were shipped like cattle in locked trucks as far as Idaho. Some were later turned over to the Border Patrol and deported.

Reporters seeking firsthand information at Arrowhead Ranch were threatened with violence.

Robert Goldwater denied knowing anything about conditions there.

Arizona underwent a major econom-



SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER

ic boom after World War II. Land became a major commodity. Fortunes were made and lost in feverish speculation.

Some of it was legal. A lot of it wasn't.

The IRE team brought much of this to light, citing names, dates, and places.

Land schemes played a key role in tying together Democratic and Republican politicians with the underworld.

Two articles outline the part played by Ned Warren, Sr.—called "the godfather" here.

According to one article, Warren masterminded a multi-million-dollar land fraud industry for fifteen years.

The report said that Warren's success was due to "1) Involving politicians, Democrat and Republican alike, in advantageous land deals, thereby gaining access to politically powerful people who controlled the party machinery which, in turn, meant control of state government. And

"2) Giving systematic payoffs, 'loans' and other favors to a few key public officials responsible for policing Arizona's real estate laws."

Arizona's rulers like to describe their state as a land of promise.

But the promise hasn't been kept for tens of thousands of copper miners,

undocumented workers, Indians, Blacks, women, and Chicanos.

Arizona hasn't ratified the Equal Rights Amendment. It's a "right to work" state. Unions are very weak. Wages are low. Undocumented workers are sweated and deported.

Arizona's rulers have sought to stamp out any political opposition. Dr. Morris Starsky, a professor of philosophy at Arizona State University, was fired because of his anti-Vietnam War views.

It was later revealed that the FBI had secretly worked to get rid of him.

But the FBI hasn't been able to bring any prosecutions against Arizona's crooks and swindlers.

Those are some of the results of the collusion between corrupt politicians, judges, and organized crime.

Until recently Arizona working people had no political alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

But now, a new branch of the Socialist Workers party and chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance are providing a choice. The socialists are explaining the issues and people are listening.

The SWP, based in Phoenix, and the YSA, based at Arizona State University in Tempe, have pointed out the futility of trying to make the two capitalist parties rule in the interest of the majority.

The IRE team articles brought the point home sharply.

The socialist movement opened the only radical bookstore in Phoenix earlier this year. A regular Friday night forum series gives activists from many of the struggles for social change a chance to speak out.

A forum last month, for example, discussed "The Investigative Report on Arizona that Nobody Wants You to See."

The capitalists have sucked profits out of Arizona for more than a hundred years. What's new is that socialism has come to this "Sun Belt" state.

## SDUSA: Out to get the Quakers

By Fred Feldman

The Social Democrats USA are firing away at a new target. The SDUSA is a neanderthal outfit that serves as a mouthpiece for the views of AFL-CIO President George Meany. Its leaders sometimes parade as "socialists," but they just can't seem to find the time to put up any opposition to the capitalists and their government.

That's because they are so busy attacking more important "enemies"—like supporters of insurgent steel unionist Ed Sadlowski, or Blacks who oppose discrimination, or women who don't think their place is in the home, or ecologists who lack faith in the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. In other words, just about anybody who presumes to utter a critical word about the status quo in the USA.

### AS I SEE IT

The newest "enemies" uncovered by the SDUSA's sleuths are not, of course, the politicians who are chopping away at workers' living standards. The SDUSA supports most of these politicians. The "enemies" are the Quakers. That's right, the Society of Friends, a religious pacifist group centered in Philadelphia.

The April issue of SDUSA's monthly *New America* features an article headlined "These Friends Are No Friends of Freedom." The article is an attack on the American Friends Service Committee—an organization founded by the Friends. The late Joe McCarthy himself would have been proud to have penned such an article.

The AFSC, according to author Marvin Maurer, is "anti-American." His "evidence" reveals a lot more about the SDUSA than about the AFSC's supposed anti-Americanism.

According to Maurer, the AFSC is not sincerely pacifist, as it has always claimed to be, because it called for "a total withdrawal of United States troops" from Vietnam and denied that "free expression" prevailed in South Vietnam under the U.S.-supported Thieu tyranny.

Maurer-approved "pacifists" would have supported the terror-bombing of Vietnam and even yelled for more, as many SDUSA leaders did. That is "pro-American." As for the hundreds of thousands of American soldiers who didn't want to fight in Indochina and the millions at home who opposed the war—why, they're all "anti-American" too!

Opposing the war in Indochina was not the AFSC's only sin, however. Maurer finds a recent AFSC mission to Cuba guilty of noticing that the Cuban revolution was "solving basic social problems that are unsolved in Latin America." It's "anti-American" to notice such plain facts. "Real" SDUSA-type Americans are duty-bound to support the U.S. government's economic blockade of Cuba, as well as CIA efforts to murder of the country's leaders. That's 100 percent "Americanism."

Then Maurer lets loose with a real bombshell. The AFSC has "looked with approval upon such nations and groups as . . . the Palestinians." Looking with approval on Palestinians is the cardinal sin in this racist's book. SDUSA-type Americans hate Palestinians!

AFSC's crime, if that's the word, is that some of its leaders realize that the Palestinians are oppressed and—being pacifists—hope to foster a

"compromise" settlement between the Palestinian people and the Zionist state. This "extremist" stance strikes SDUSA—which demands that Washington provide massive military aid to help Israel crush the Palestinians—as horribly "un-American."

But the AFSC has gone even further, according to Maurer's exposé. It sponsored a conference that "provided over 250 participants with a display of views ranging from soft support for Israel's security to an implied hostility to its existence." No doubt about it—by allowing critics of the state of Israel to speak, the AFSC has failed in SDUSA's eyes to carry out the obligation of every citizen to "look with disapproval" on Palestinians.

The SDUSA attacks the Friends because it fears that criticisms of U.S. foreign policy by groups such as the AFSC will make it more difficult for the imperialists to launch a new Vietnam in the Middle East or elsewhere. Maurer's witch-hunting article is aimed at silencing such criticisms.

During the Indochina war, supporters of this social-democratic current were fond of warning antiwar activists that a U.S. withdrawal from Indochina would cause a rightist backlash and a McCarthy-style witch-hunt.

To their apparent consternation, the backlash and witch-hunt have failed to materialize. Instead, the Watergate scandal and subsequent revelations have discredited secret-police agencies such as the FBI and CIA, and weakened the government's capacity to intimidate dissenters.

In the face of such trying times, the SDUSA has decided to take up the red-baiter's burden. These 100 percent procapitalist "socialists" have set up shop as George Meany's very own "un-American activities" committee.

# In Review

## 'So Help Me God'

"So Help Me God," episode from "The Rockford Files." Broadcast by NBC-TV.

Network television took a prime-time peek inside the federal grand jury chamber April 15. And while the story was fictional, the message—*beware the grand jury*—was vividly accurate.

The occasion was the April 15 repeat telecast of the "So Help Me God" episode of NBC's top private-eye series, "The Rockford Files." First broadcast last November, the program received at that time, according to NBC, an unprecedented huge mail response from viewers angered by the grand jury reality the show so powerfully portrayed.

The April 15 rebroadcast should produce a similar reaction. "So Help

the events they had just witnessed are completely permissible under existing grand jury law.

That message was unnecessary for the thousands of anti-Vietnam War, trade-union, and women's movement activists, among others, who have had firsthand contact with federal grand juries over the past seven years. They know all too well that the grand jury is the joker in the criminal justice deck, a dangerous niche where the Bill of Rights is off limits and anything the government wants—from gathering intelligence to smearing reputations—goes.

Now, thanks to this most disturbing "Rockford Files" episode, millions of Americans know that too. The hour-long telecast, before it was over, sampled almost every major outrageous aspect of current grand jury procedure. The abuses started when Jim Rockford was surprised with a grand jury subpoena and didn't end until the bewildered gumshoe had been jailed twice for the crime of "silence."

In between, Rockford—and the viewing audience—learned that:

- the government can call whomever it wants before a grand jury and never explain why;
- a person can be called before a grand jury at a moment's notice, with no advance warning; and
- a witness's attorney is barred from the grand jury room.

Inside the grand jury chamber, viewers saw Rockford browbeaten and

badgered by an ambitious federal prosecutor out to tie Rockford to a crime Rockford knew nothing about. Rockford's honest answers brought prosecutory taunts.

When the smirking prosecutor called him a perjurer, Rockford angrily refused to answer any more questions, only to discover that once a witness starts answering grand jury questions, the witness waives the Fifth Amendment right to silence.

Found in contempt, Rockford was thrown behind bars where his lawyer explained that, unless he testified the government could keep him locked up for the rest of the grand jury's eighteen-month term—and then start the whole process over again by subpoenaing him before a new grand jury.

"I haven't been charged with anything; I haven't been convicted of anything," an amazed Rockford exploded. "With that kinda set-up, you realize how much time I could spend in here?"

"Theoretically?" his attorney answered. "The rest of your life."

Released on a technicality, Rockford was quickly resubpoenaed. But just before his second grand jury appearance, his attorney dropped another grand jury bombshell: it really didn't matter at all when or even whether Rockford invoked the Fifth. By granting him "immunity" against his will, the government could force him to choose between testifying or going to jail.

Back behind bars went Rockford.

Eventually, of course, Rockford did manage to get himself free. In true television style he parlayed his sleuth-

ing wizardry into a dismissal of contempt proceedings against him.

For the rest of us, though, freedom from the grand jury reach of abusive prosecutors will take more than a scriptwriter's ingenuity. We need a complete overhaul of the grand jury system.

The push for that overhaul has already begun. A broad grouping of civil liberties, bar, labor, religious, and women's groups has succeeded in placing grand jury reform on the congressional agenda. Hearings are now under way in the House of Representatives, and a vote on a grand jury reform measure is expected within the next five months.

By piercing the secrecy and mystery that cloaks grand jury proceedings, "The Rockford Files" "So Help Me God" episode has no doubt opened some eyes heretofore closed to grand jury abuses, but let's not wax too rhapsodic. TV shows, no matter how professionally packaged, are not going to end grand jury abuse. The prescription for change remains the same as it has always been: patient, steady organizing. Jim Rockford's ordeal has made that work easier, but no less necessary.

—Sam Pizzigati

Sam Pizzigati is the co-director of the Coalition to End Grand Jury Abuse. The Coalition (105 Second Street NE, Washington, D.C. 20002), which keeps an up-to-date literature file on grand jury horrors and the movement to end them, welcomes information requests.

## Television

Me God" is a brilliant object lesson on what's wrong with our modern grand jury system.

In fact, the grand jury horrors heaped upon "Jim Rockford" (the detective played by actor James Garner) by scriptwriter Juanita Bartlett are so frighteningly bizarre that the show's producers felt obliged to end each of its two broadcasts by flashing a special message on the screen. The unusual legend assured viewers that

## Lewis W. Hine

Lewis W. Hine 1874-1940. A Retrospective of the Photographer March 10 through May 15. The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York.

Remember in history class when you first learned about the masses of immigrants who traveled to America from all over the world to make their fortunes here?

Remember the way you felt, sitting in your classroom as a ten-year-old child, reading about and looking at pictures of children who *had* to work from the time they could walk just to

## Photography

survive? Work, maybe fourteen to eighteen hours a day, for a few pennies.

Most likely, you're now conjuring up images of families huddled together carrying everything they owned in their arms, waiting on Ellis Island off the tip of Manhattan. Or rows of hundreds of boys down deep in a coal mine breaking hunks of coal with their heels.

These images are the work of Lewis W. Hine,

the primary visual recorder of life among working people in the United States from 1900 to 1940.

The Brooklyn Museum in New York City is currently exhibiting 220 original Hine photographs. The collection is especially enjoyable because it is so thorough. Not only is there a representative selection of Hine's photographs, but also a display of the kind of equipment he used and a video presentation on how he was able to get the pictures he was after.

Hine's first major documentary was of immigrants at Ellis Island in 1904. From there, Hine became the photographer of the National Child Labor Committee, the Pittsburgh Survey, and the American Red Cross.

Hine was relentless in his effort to get into the mines and factories to document every aspect of people at work. He frequently had to masquerade as an insurance salesman or company inspector to get inside. Thanks to his diligence, we have a permanent record of a most sinister period of the exploitation of working people in the United States.

Hine's work has an unusually enduring impact; his images are imprinted in the minds of his audience forever.

—Susan Ellis



From top right to lower left: Spinner girl, North Carolina cotton mill (1908); Looking for lost baggage, Ellis Island (1905); New York City newsboys (1908).



# 'Rubyfruit Jungle'

Rubyfruit Jungle by Rita Mae Brown. Published by Daughters, Inc., 1973. \$4.95, 217 pages.

Rubyfruit Jungle is uproariously funny—that's what I liked best about it. When a writer makes you laugh out loud, and you have to pause to regain the composure to read on, you can't help but feel grateful.

## Books

Rita Mae Brown's semiautobiographical novel is about Molly Bolt, a strong-willed girl growing up in the 1950s and early 1960s in a depressed, rural area of Pennsylvania and later Florida. From childhood on her path is strewn with obstacles. She is female. She is poor. She is a "bastard" child. She is a lesbian.

She is also self-assured, smart, and tough. These characteristics madden and perplex those around her.

When Molly's foster-mother, Carrie, tauntingly reveals that her real mother was a "common, dirty slut who'd lay with a dog if it shook its ass right," a young Molly replies, "I don't care. It makes no difference where I came from. I'm here, ain't I?"

Carrie despises Molly's audacity and quick-wittedness and constantly nags her to become more "girlish."

Molly resists the pressures aimed at taming and redirecting her. Though puzzled about why others conform to the roles they try to force on her, she never wavers in the confidence that her wants are legitimate.

Her persistence in attaining what she wants—love, sexual fulfillment, development of her talents and abilities—and her relative success at it, are refreshing and exhilarating.

Brown's defiant Molly repeatedly declaring "Who cares what they think!" does get a little boring. It makes her a bit too one-dimensional.

But most of the time Molly rings true. As do an array of other characters, the period, and the various parts of the country where Molly lives.

Carrie is particularly intriguing. She is enraged by Molly's rebelliousness, jealous of her intelligence, and repulsed by her lesbianism. She is uneducated and bigoted. Yet Molly and Carrie are both plucky human beings with a strong sense of their places in the world. As Molly grows up and Carrie grows old, a bond of respect develops between them.

There are surely many gutsy girls who, like Molly, grow up refusing to be bound by stunting roles and alienating mores. Nobody writes about them very much, though. That's the beauty of *Rubyfruit Jungle*. Rita Mae Brown did. And although you know that Molly is an exceptional individual, you can't help but think that the women's liberation movement and the gay movement have been creating a climate where more like her can blossom.

—Barbara Mutnick

# MAY DAY 1977

## 400 attend socialist rally in N.Y.

By Jenny Brookstone

NEW YORK—Four hundred people attended a Socialist Workers party May Day celebration and campaign rally held here May 1.

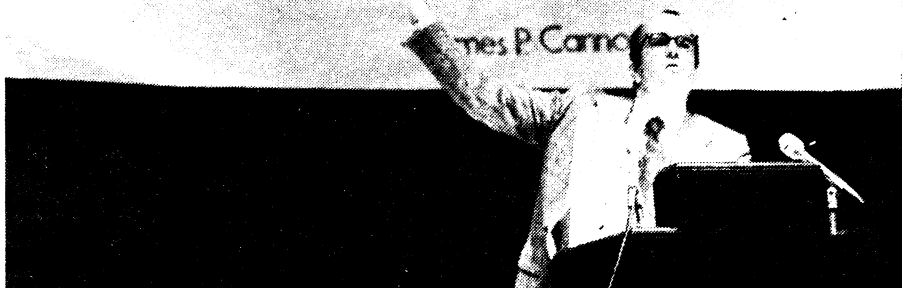
In addition to New York participants, sixty people from Philadelphia, Newark, and Albany attended the event.

Speakers included Maura Rodriguez, a member of the national executive committee of the Young Socialist Alliance; Kevin Kellogg, SWP candidate for mayor of Albany; Eli Green, organizer of the New York City Young Socialist Alliance; and Jane Roland, SWP candidate for president of the New York City Council.

Catarino Garza, socialist nominee for mayor of New York, spoke on the history of May Day (see below).

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes gave the keynote speech. He condemned the default of the current trade-union leadership, which has failed to mobilize working people and the oppressed nationalities

"The American workers will learn politics as they learned trade unionism—from an abridged dictionary. They will take the road of independent political action with hurricane speed and power. That will be a great day for humanity."



Militant/Lou Howort

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes speaks to May Day rally

against the bipartisan assault on their rights and living standards.

Barnes contrasted the class collaborationist practices of the labor bureaucrats to the class-struggle outlook of the Steelworkers Fight Back movement.

The way forward for American workers, Barnes said, is the fight for a militant, democratic union movement and a political break with the two big-business parties. He pointed

to the quotation from founding SWP leader James P. Cannon that hung on a banner above the speakers platform.

The Sunday rally concluded a weekend socialist educational conference. Some 360 people attended Friday and Saturday class sessions on women in the labor movement; the history of American labor; and the history of the revolutionary workers international parties.

## 'A planet without frontiers'

The following remarks on the history and significance of May Day were made at a Socialist Workers campaign rally in New York May 1 by Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for mayor of that city.

May Day is a product of the struggles of the working class in these United States. The ruling class ignores the role of women in history and the past of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Asians.

Its educational system and books also ignore the role of the working class, our struggles, our role in the past of this country—and, of course, the role we must play in changing this society.

May 1 was selected in a resolution adopted in Chicago by unions in 1884. The resolution said: "Resolved, By the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886, and that we recommend to labor organizations throughout this jurisdiction that they so direct their laws as to conform to this resolution by the time named."

As you can guess, the employers—the ruling class—didn't want to abide by this resolution. They prepared to stop it. However, on May 1, 1886, 340,000 workers struck or threatened to strike, and 200,000 of them gained—at least for a time—a reduction in their workday.

One place where the struggle was sharpest was in Chicago. Before May 1, workers at the McCormick plant there were out on strike. They were confronted by goons and a professional army of strikebreakers.

On May 3—at a rally for the eight-hour day held near the McCormick plant—a gang of police fired into the crowd and killed four workers and wounded many others.

Next day, another rally was organized to protest the brutality of the police. Among the spectators was the mayor of Chicago. It was a peaceful rally. But toward the end the police again prepared to attack. Before the police charged, a bomb was thrown into their ranks.

No one today has any doubt that the bomb throwing was the work of an agent of the ruling class. Fighting broke out, and six police and several workers were killed.

The leaders of the unions who spoke at and organized the rally were arrested and framed up for murder. They were convicted because of what they said and believed.

On November 11, 1887, Albert Parsons, August Spies, Adolph Fischer, and George Engel were hanged.

[Louis Lingg died in prison a day earlier. One of the leaders had been sentenced to fifteen years. Two others had their death sentences commuted to life imprisonment. These three were finally pardoned in 1893.]

Spies—a leader of the Cigar Makers' International Union—said before he was hanged, "There will be a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today."

He was right. The counteroffensive against the eight-hour day did not succeed in turning the clock all the way back. The offensive was resisted, and the 1888 convention of the American Federation of Labor pointed out that as a result of the movement in 1886:

- a number of trades had reduced their hours from ten and twelve to eight;
- others from twelve and fourteen to ten and nine; and
- many thousands of workmen who before that time worked fourteen and eighteen hours a day had

their hours reduced to twelve.

The AFL voted to continue to struggle and asked for support.

The International Labor Congress in session in Paris in 1889—at which the Second International was formed—voted to hold simultaneous demonstrations in support of the eight-hour day throughout Europe on May 1, 1890.

That's how May Day began, and that's why we celebrate. It was created by our class in an international struggle. That's what we hold dearest—the fighting traditions of our class.

Today the struggle is around many other issues in many other places. Today I think two struggles stand out.

One is the struggle of the Black people of South Africa that exploded again in Soweto just a few days ago. We have been participants in building support for that struggle in the past, and we will continue to build solidarity.

Another is the struggle of our brothers and sisters in this country—especially Mexicans and others from Latin America and the Caribbean—who have no immigration documents. They have been forced to come to this country because they couldn't find work in their own. The U.S. government wants them to carry passbooks, similar to those used against South African Blacks. And we will fight alongside them against that police-state edict. Of course, the passbooks here will be more advanced and efficient than in South Africa—all information will be on one little card.

We want to take this opportunity to express our solidarity with our fellow workers without documents, and to pledge to renew our efforts to make this a planet without frontiers, a world where papers will be unnecessary—a socialist world.

# Antiwar activists sue FBI and Honeywell

By Donald Winters

MINNEAPOLIS—The American Civil Liberties Union filed suit April 21 charging that top officers of Honeywell, Inc., here conspired with the FBI during the early 1970s to disrupt antiwar groups.

Honeywell was a frequent target of protests during the Vietnam War because the company produced cluster bombs used in slaughterous U.S. attacks on Vietnamese villages and cities.

In its report last year the Senate committee investigating intelligence activities quoted a 1970 FBI memo authorizing the Minneapolis FBI field office to furnish information to "a confidential source in the company's management."

The purpose of such joint FBI-

Honeywell activity, according to the memo, was to prevent any attempt by antiwar activists to "obtain publicity or embarrass" corporate officials.

The suit charges that Honeywell helped the FBI plan and carry out disruption of lawful activities, spread false information about protesters, and encourage dissension among the groups.

ACLU attorney Jack Novik charged that "in carrying out their illegal surveillance and infiltration, Honeywell and the FBI violated the constitutional rights of our clients." The suit claims more than \$15 million in damages.

Plaintiffs in the lawsuit include Marv Davidov, organizer of the antiwar "Honeywell Project"; other members of the project; and members of Clergy and Laity Concerned.

fight, but also the potential for organizing community support for the strike.

Unfortunately, because the union leadership has not championed school desegregation, it has forfeited much support from the Black community. A group of Black teachers is even crossing the picket lines to protest the MTEA default on Black rights.

The leadership has belatedly begun to respond to the problems raised by the Black Teachers' Caucus. Leading Black members of the union have spoken on Black radio talk shows to explain the issues of the strike. Black and white teachers have written to the local Black press to explain why the strike should be supported.

Much more needs to be done, however. The MTEA has to aggressively seek out the active solidarity of the rest of the labor movement and the organized support of parents, especially in the Black community. These forces can help the MTEA force the board to sit down and sign a contract.

of the people mentioned are responsible for even one FALN bombing.

But the *New York Times* article cannot be dismissed simply as an isolated smear job. It will alert other big-business-owned media and government officials. It will help the government whip up a campaign of slander and harassment against movement activists.

Already, the government has scored an important victory in its campaign. In the past, the Episcopal commission has funded many social-service projects initiated by or associated with movement activists, such as the high school in Chicago.

Now the commission has been reorganized. Its budget has been slashed. Activists have been purged. And its two former full-time staff members are sitting in prison, although they have not been charged with—much less tried or convicted of—any crime.

## Correction

In the "National Picket Line" in the April 22 *Militant* the sentence saying, "It successfully survived the 1973 General Strike and has constructed a fine union hall," should have said 1934 instead of 1973.

In the April 29 *Militant* the article "Imperialist war moves in Zaire threaten Africa" by Steve Clark incorrectly stated that Belgian Prime Minister Leo Tindemans had admitted sending eighty military advisers to Zaire to help defeat antigovernment forces there. Actually Tindemans only admitted that eighty Belgian "advisers" were stationed in Zaire, not that they had been sent there in connection with the fighting in Shaba Province.

# Calendar

## BERKELEY/OAKLAND

**WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM.** Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, socialist feminist, author of *What Socialists Stand For*. Fri., May 13, 8 p.m.: *The Silenced Majority: Women in Western Civilization*. Sat., May 14, 2 p.m.: *Women in American History*. 3:30 p.m.: *Women's Liberation: The Struggle Today and Perspectives for Tomorrow*. Tan Oak Room, Student Union, U.C. Berkeley. Donation: \$1 Fri. night; \$1 Sat. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (415) 261-1210 or 653-7156.

## BOSTON

**CAMPAIGN KICKOFF RALLY.** Speakers: Hattie McCutcheon, SWP candidate for school committee; Diane Jacobs, SWP candidate for city council. Sat., May 14. Reception: 7 p.m.; rally: 8 p.m. Arlington Street Church, 355 Boylston St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

## DALLAS

**SOUTH AFRICA IN REVOLT.** Speaker: Mack Hazley, Dallas coordinator of SCAR. Also a film documentary on the Soweto uprising, *There is No Crisis*, will be shown. Fri., May 13, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

## LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

**MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS.** Speaker: Willie Petty, SWP. Also the film *A Tribute to Malcolm X* will be shown. Fri., May 13, 8 p.m. 2716 W. Washington. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

## MINNEAPOLIS

**THE NEW SUIT AGAINST THE HONEYWELL CORPORATION AND THE FBI.** Speakers: Marv Davidov, a founder of the Honeywell Project and plaintiff in the suit; Donald Winters, PRDF. Fri., May 13, 8 p.m. Rm. 326, Coffman Union, University of Minnesota. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 870-1284.

## NEWARK: BROADWAY

**SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM: The Struggle for Democratic Rights in the Soviet Union.** Speaker: Steve Clark, *Militant* editorial staff. Fri., May 13, 7:30 p.m. 256 Broadway. Donation: \$1.

## BOSTON

### Campaign kickoff rally

#### Socialist answer to racist city government

- Defend school desegregation & busing
- Stop cuts in school budget
- End racist attacks

SATURDAY, MAY 14. Speakers: Hattie McCutcheon, SWP candidate for school committee; Diane Jacobs, SWP candidate for city council. Reception: 7 p.m.; rally: 8 p.m. Arlington Street Church, 355 Boylston St. Donation: \$2. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

Sponsored by Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee. Chairperson: Maceo Dixon; treasurer: Lisa Potash

## SPECIAL ISSUE OF THE BLACK SCHOLAR ON CUBA

The entire June 1977 issue of THE BLACK SCHOLAR will be devoted to reports on the trip to Cuba by this black delegation, complete with photos, illustrations and related materials. Don't miss this historic issue! If you are not a subscriber, order either through your newsstand or bookstore, or from us direct: Cuba Issue, THE BLACK SCHOLAR, PO Box 908, Sausalito, Calif. 94965.

## DICK ROBERTS

### Capitalism in Crisis

*Capitalism in Crisis* cuts through the mystique that surrounds the government's economic policies. Roberts explains why the government has been unable to control inflation, and shows the forces behind the international economic crisis. 128 pp., cloth \$7.00, paper \$1.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

## NEW ORLEANS

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN CLASSES.** Weekly classes and discussions dealing with political issues. Find out the Socialist Workers Campaign positions and what Joel Aber, socialist candidate for mayor of New Orleans, stands for. Every Sat., 2 p.m. 3812 Magazine St. Ausp: 1977 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (504) 891-6324.

## NEW YORK: THE BRONX

**CLASSES ON SOCIALISM.** Wednesdays, 8 p.m. 2271 Morris Ave. (near 183rd St.). Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 365-6652.

## NEW YORK: QUEENS

**SEGREGATION AT ANDREW JACKSON HIGH SCHOOL: Jim Crow in New York City.** Speakers: Jerome McFarland, president, Andrew Jackson Parents Association; Melvin Chappell, NY coordinator of SCAR; representative of Jamaica NAACP. Fri., May 13, 8 p.m. 90-43 149th St. (just off Jamaica Ave.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

**PHILADELPHIA: GERMANTOWN CARTER'S FIRST 100 DAYS: CUTBACKS, INFLATION, BROKEN PROMISES.** Speaker: Bruce Bloy, SWP. Fri., May 13, 8 p.m. 5950 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 844-2874.

## RICHMOND, VA.

**UNION MILITANTS DISCUSS HOW TO FIGHT BACK.** Speakers: representatives from the J.P. Stevens Boycott Committee and the Philip Morris affirmative-action suit; and Annemarie Hill, a member of Steelworkers Fight Back. Fri., May 13, 8 p.m. 1203A W. Main St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (804) 353-3238.

## ST. PAUL

**MINORITY WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES.** Fri., May 13, 8 p.m. 176 Western Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

## SEATTLE

**WHY WOMEN ARE OPPRESSED.** First in a series of informal discussions on feminism and socialism. Speaker: Jeannie Reynolds, SWP candidate for city council and an activist in NOW and the Washington ERA Coalition. Tues., May 10, 7:30 p.m. 5623 University Way NE. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For a ride or more information call (206) 524-6670.

# ...teachers

Continued from page 22

percent. Less than 10 percent of the students have been attending school.

Nevertheless, either because the leadership feels that the MTEA is in a weak position, or because it thinks the teachers can get a fair settlement this way, the MTEA has pushed for binding arbitration to end the strike.

Arbitration would be a dangerous trap for teachers and the union. The "impartial third parties" who are supposed to objectively arbitrate disputes between workers and employers are never impartial. Invariably they are closer to the employers in outlook.

Any union that relies on arbitration rather than its own strength to settle contract disputes will end up with weaker and weaker contracts that are less and less respected by the employer.

The April 27 public hearing showed not only the willingness of teachers to

# ...FALN

Continued from page 21

Canals traveled between Puerto Rico and the United States at a time supposedly coinciding with an FALN bombing.

A similar technique is being used to smear Ricardo Romero, a Denver activist who has been active with the Crusade for Justice. Cops claim they spotted him in New York at the time of the October 1974 FALN bombing. But the bombing took place only hours before a scheduled proindependence rally that drew up to 20,000 people from across the United States and Puerto Rico.

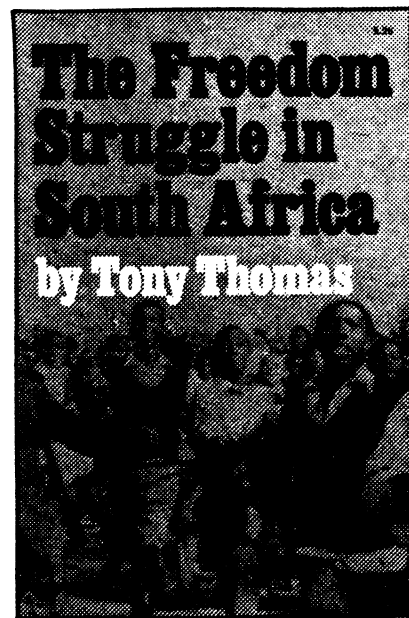
To bolster the case against the Crusade, the *Times* adds more evidence: *El Gallo*, the Crusade's paper, once printed an FALN communiqué. But so have many other newspapers—including the *New York Times*.

And, yes, Romero also worked with the Hispanic commission.

Traveling seems to have been one of the most suspicious activities. "Commission members traveled extensively in the United States and to Puerto Rico between 1971 and 1976," the *Times* charges. The travels "correspond with the dates and sites of F.A.L.N. bombings."

First, the traveling is hardly surprising. How were commission members scattered across the country to get to their meetings? Second, the "extensive" traveling started years before anyone heard of the FALN. So, despite the *Time's* assertion, the travels don't all "correspond" to FALN bombings.

Even if all the information the government spoon-fed to the *Times* is true (hardly a safe assumption), there is still not one item showing that any



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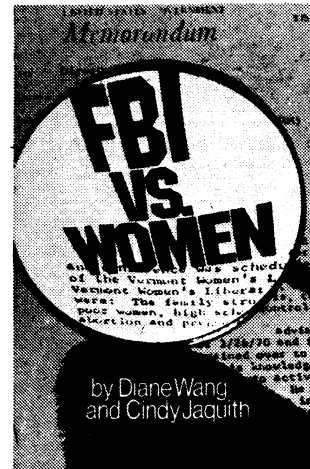
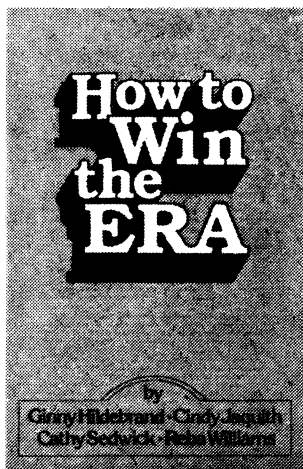
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## CARTER'S ENERGY WAR

### Workers balk at enlisting

By Dick Roberts

American workers aren't exactly pounding on the White House door to enlist in President Carter's energy war.

That's the conclusion of a *New York Times*-CBS News poll taken the week after Carter's second "fireside chat" and his energy address to Congress.

Carter "appears to face a major task in persuading [the bulk of Americans] that the crisis is a serious one and that his remedies will be fair," wrote *Times* reporter Robert Reinhold April 29.

The public "resisted the President's proposal that would raise prices or taxes, such as the gasoline tax," Reinhold added.

According to the poll, based on interviews with 1,707 people, only half believed Carter's assertion that the oil supply situation is verging on a "national catastrophe."

"Resistance to the program seemed strongest among the less affluent blue-collar workers, who were more likely than others to feel that the burden of the sacrifice would be borne unequally," Reinhold said.

He continued: "One of the strongest clues to the resistance was the widespread feeling that the program would not be administered equitably. Eighty percent of those questioned felt that some groups of people 'would make out much better than others' under the sacrifices embodied in the program."

Wealthy Americans are beginning to think the same thing. But they're happy about it.

After all, they're the ones who are going to "make out much better."

"Support for the proposals seemed to divide rather sharply along social class lines," according to the *New York Times* reporter. "Those from blue-collar families were much less likely than those in professional and managerial families to think it was a 'good idea' to tax big cars or to raise the price of oil and natural gas, and the blue-collar people were much less inclined than the better educated and more affluent to believe there really was a crisis."

At about the same time the poll was released, two new authoritative studies came to light that confirm these suspicions among "blue collar people," who are "much less inclined than the better educated and more affluent to believe" there really is a crisis.

Both studies dispute Carter's scare-mongering CIA report that predicted imminent world oil shortages.

On April 28 the National Economic Research Associates of New York issued a statement that the CIA had reached its conclusions "by making a pessimistic judgment on every element of the situation, which in itself suggests that things are not really as bad as all that."

The Stanford Research Institute in Palo Alto, California, made an energy supply study earlier in the year that had been available to the CIA but apparently was ignored.

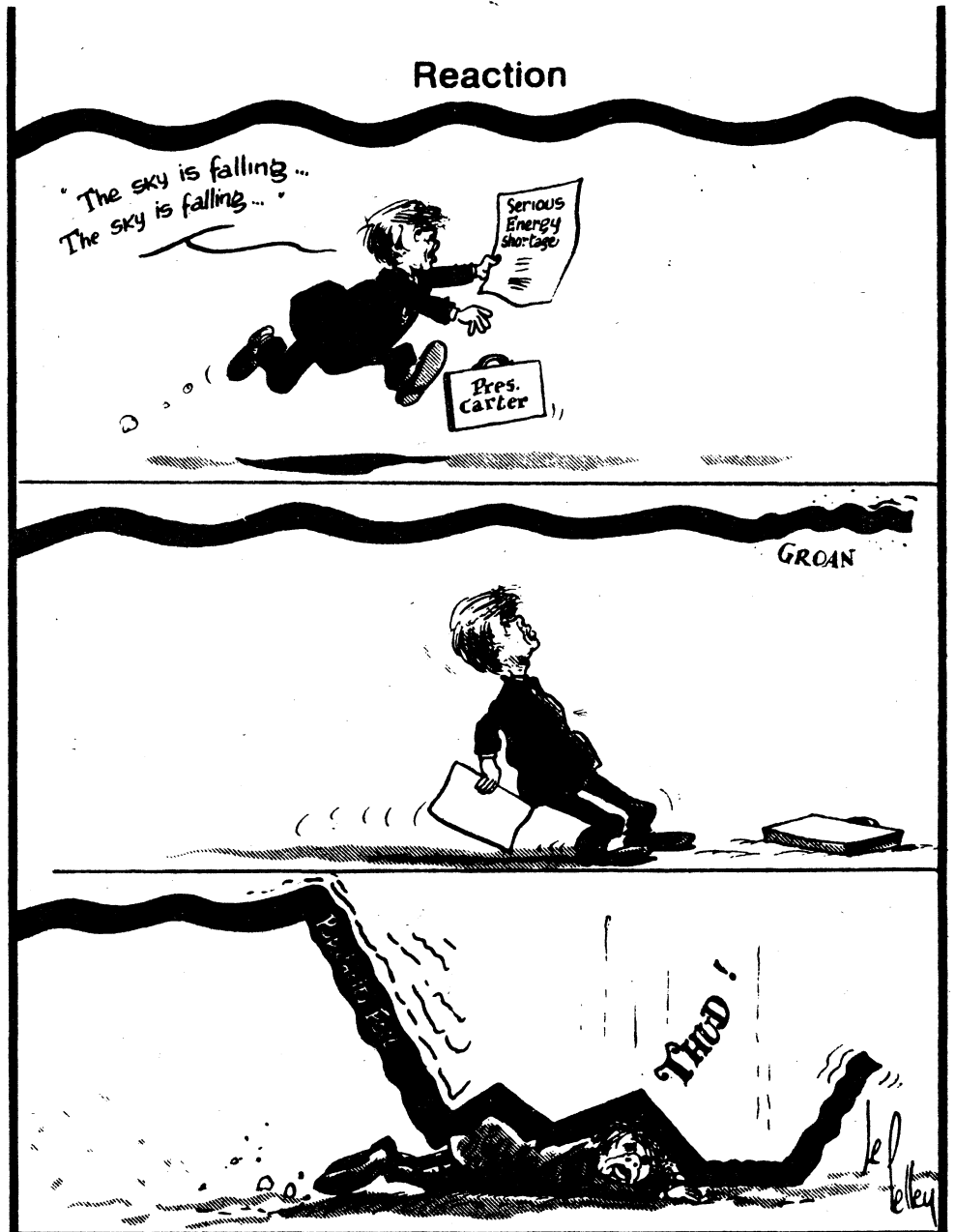
According to the April 29 *New York Times*, "Looking at resources broadly through the turn of the century, the Stanford report says, 'The world crude oil reserve picture is still quite secure.'"

The *Times*-CBS poll also registered a growing public awareness that the current government attacks on living conditions and social services are a bipartisan policy, and that working people can expect nothing more from Carter than they got from Ford and Nixon.

"Nearly half of those who voted last November for President Ford... now give Mr. Carter positive marks on his performance," the *New York Times* reported.

"Even more significant was the public's clear impression that Mr. Carter, by stressing his desire to balance the Federal budget and taking actions that disappointed organized labor and liberal Democrats, had moderated his image."

Meanwhile, the Carter administration retracted some of the candy coating that was supposed to make its



energy pill a little easier to swallow.

At a Washington news conference April 29, James Schlesinger—Carter's energy "czar"—said that the White House proposals will cost taxpayers \$7 billion more than we will get back in promised rebates through 1985.

So the oil trusts will get higher prices and fatter profits.

Washington will get more taxes to spend on bombs, missiles, and submarines.

And working people will go deeper into debt.

## UFW hits murder of immigrant by border patrol cop

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Hundreds of members of the United Farm Workers picketed offices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in several California cities April 23.

The farm workers were protesting the murder of a Mexican immigrant by the U.S. Border Patrol. The immigrant, Ramón Longoria, was with a group trying to enter the United States by crossing the Rio Grande at El Paso, Texas. According to reports, a border cop pushed Longoria back into the water and he drowned.

More than fifty farm workers picketed the INS offices here. Others protested in San Diego, San Francisco, and Fresno.

The union acted on the issue at the request of UFW President César Chávez, who was in Mexico at the time of the murder.

Chávez also sent a telegram to President Carter declaring:

"We strongly protest the unjust

killing of Ramón Longoria at the hands of the U.S. Border Patrol.

"We ask that you initiate an exhaustive investigation with the object of punishing those responsible with the full force of the law.

"We ask that you intervene so that such shameful and tragic acts of the kind that bring dishonor upon our government should not happen again."

Contacted at La Paz, the UFW headquarters, union press representative Mark Grossman told the *Militant*, "This is not the first time the Border Patrol has taken the life of a Mexican immigrant.

"One of our members was killed about four years ago," he said. "It's an issue of concern to people of Mexico and to Mexican-Americans, both of which are included in our membership."

The murder of the immigrant has evoked "a sense of outrage" among UFW members, Grossman said.



Militant/Howard Petrick  
CESAR CHAVEZ: Demands Carter investigate and punish those responsible.